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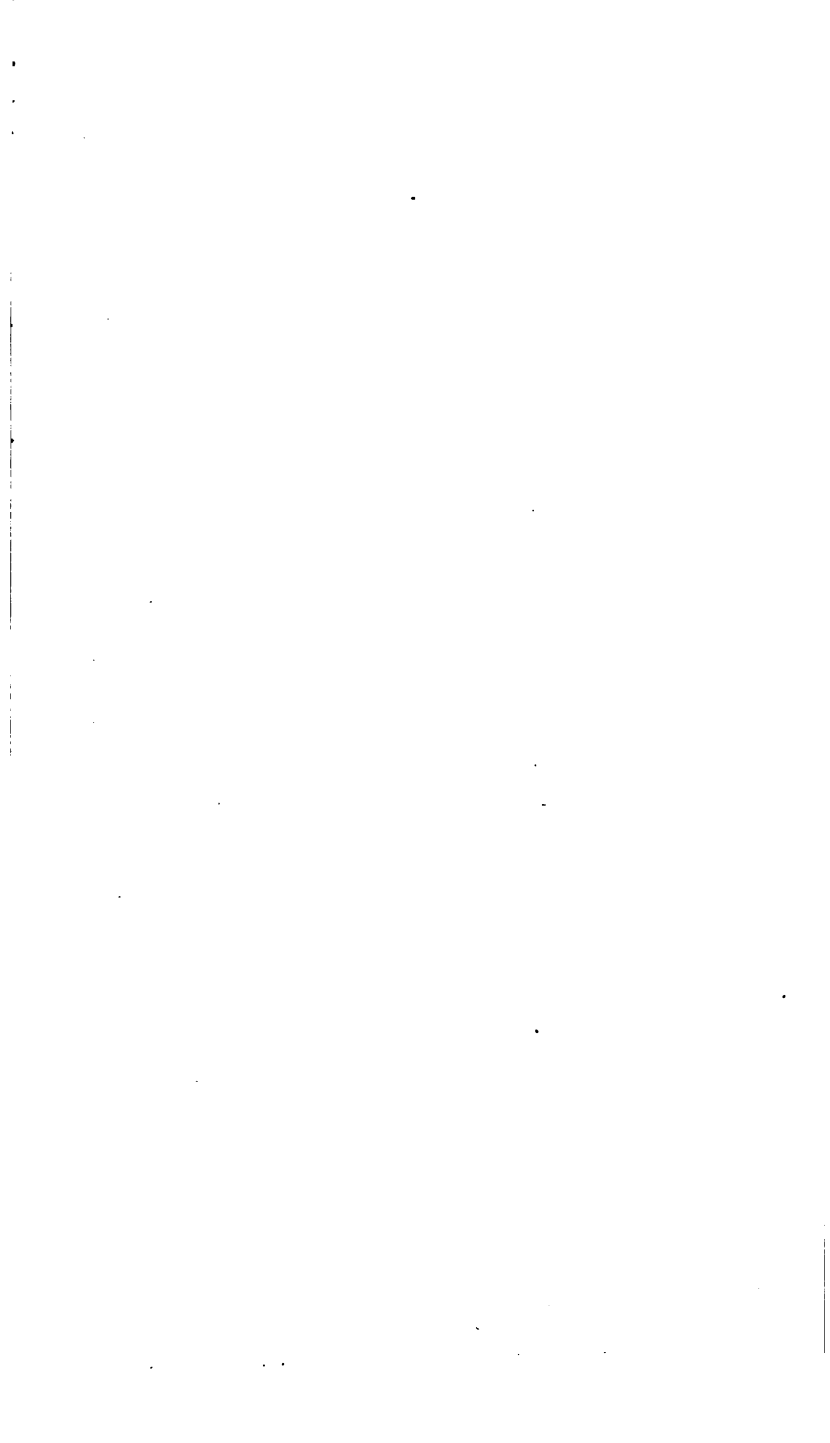
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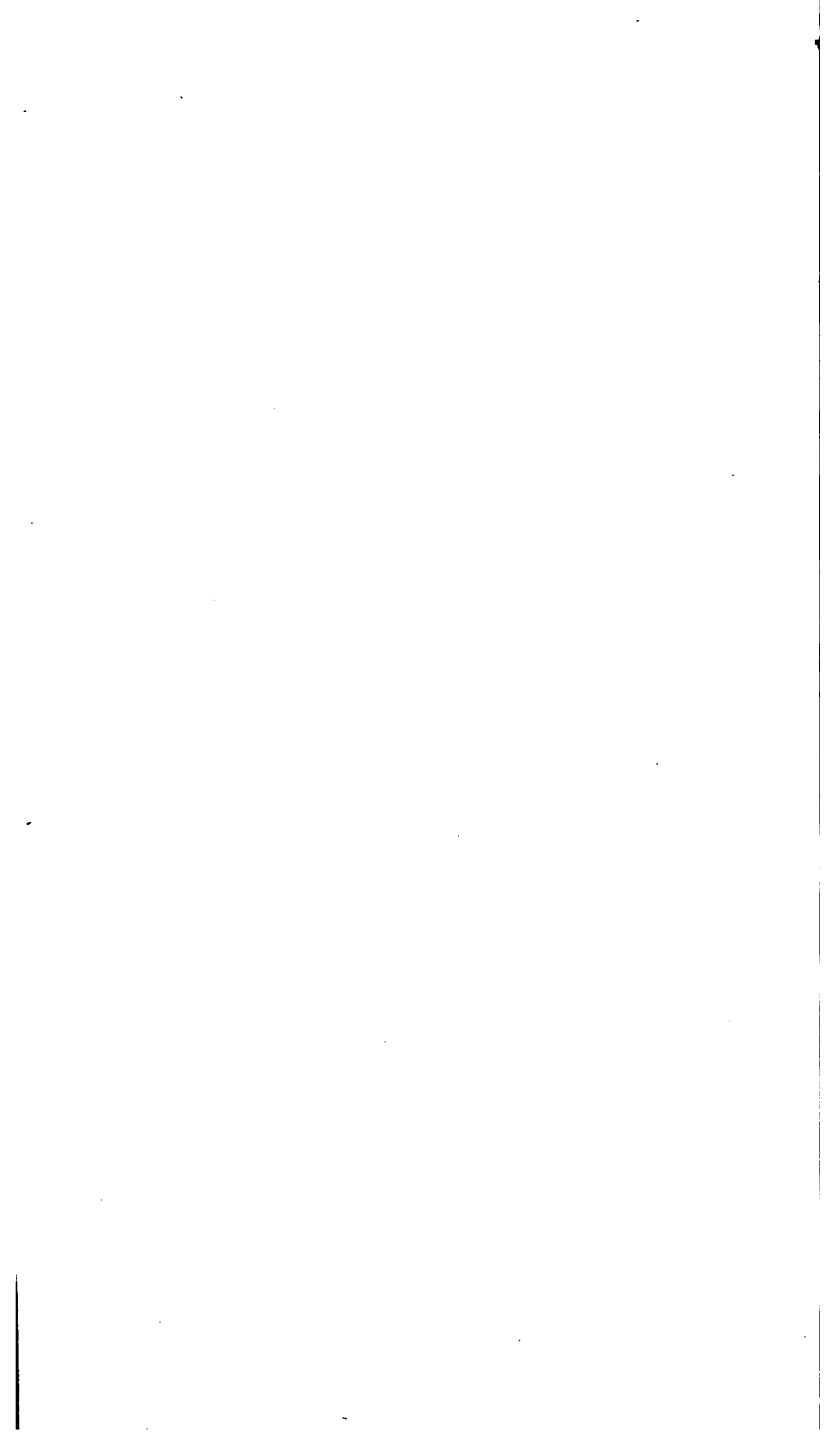
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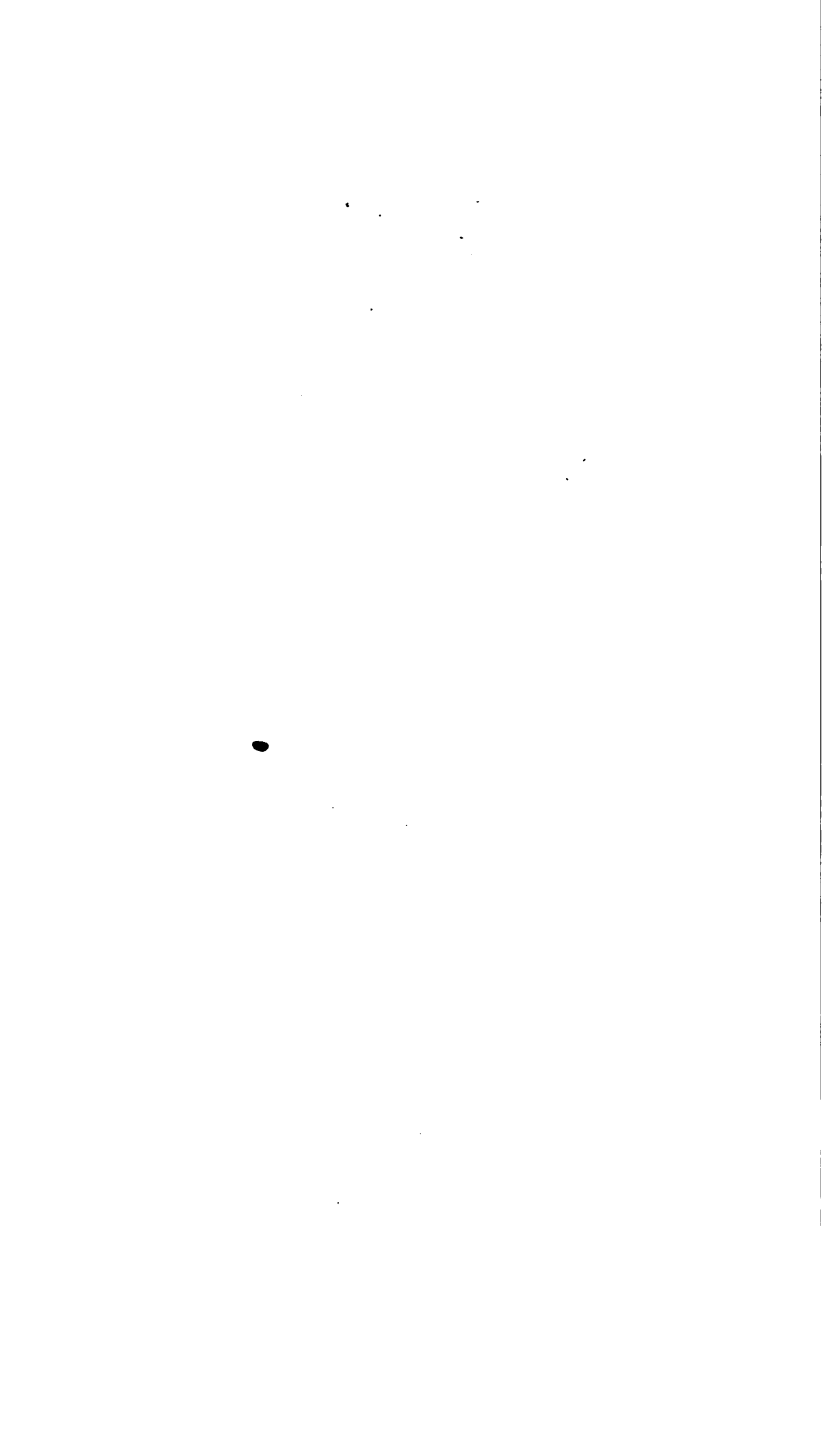
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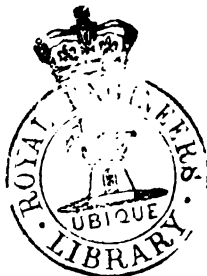
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# TRAVELS

IN THE

## ISLAND OF SARDINIA.

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### CHAPTER I.

Excursion to Cabras.—The Castello.—Fishery in the Lagunes.—Fish Feast for the New Viceroy.—Fordongianus.—Roman Road.—Produce of the District.—Bridges.—Mineral Springs.—Roman Remains.—Church of San Lussorio.—Wedding.—Marriage, Childbirth, and Funeral Customs.—The Sardonic Grin.—Oristano to Uras.—History.—Mineral Springs of Sarda.—Sanluri.—Costumes.—Agricultural Establishment.—Drainage and Cultivation of the Stagno.—From Monastir to Cagliari.

WHILE spending some days at Oristano, where I was most kindly and hospitably received at the palace of the archbishop, I made an excursion to Cabras, a village about four miles and a-half to the W.N.W., lying on the sandy plain to the east of the Mar-e-Pontis, and about a mile from the sea. The miasma, from the large tracts of undrained and uncultivated land, the destruction of the young crops and seed by the cranes, and the intense heat of the soil (owing to which the vines ripen very early), are bitterly complained of. Notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the place, the inhabitants have been celebrated as the prettiest in the island; but this compliment to their supe-

rior charms is perhaps more attributable to the neatness and cleanliness of their costume than to their positive beauty. Near the cemetery of the parish church, are the remains of the Castello, proved by documents to have been the residence of the Giudice, in 1130 ; and then known as the " Massone," or Magione, the royal palace of Cabras ; but from the circumstance of the Giudicessa Eleonora having lived there, the " Castello" is now equally well known by its other name, " Il palazzo di Eleonora." Since the abolition of the Giudicato of Arborea, and the power of the Marquises of Oristano, it has been quite neglected, and nothing is known of the village beyond the ravages committed by the Turks and pirates in 1509, and by the French fleet in 1637, under the Conte de Harcourt, and the Archbishop of Bordeaux. The district of Sinis on the west side of the Mar-e-Pontis, now almost uninhabited, was formerly well populated, and in many parts may be seen the ruins of the " biddas beccias," the old villages.

On the southern promontory of the Sinis, called the Capo di San Marco, and a little to the east of the Torre di San Giovanni di Sinis, are the ruins of the ancient Tharros, or Tarros, a town mentioned by Ptolemy and Antonine ; but so little is visible from being covered with light sand, that no idea can be formed of its extent or importance. Roman rings, necklaces, vases, and Egyptian amulets, have been discovered there, many of which are now in the Museum at Cagliari. The population of Tharros migrated, as formerly mentioned, to Oristano, in 1070, doubtless to avoid the incursions of the Saracens ; but anterior to that period it is said to have been the capital of the Giudicato of Arborea. They took with them even the stones of their houses to build their new residences ; and a Sarde proverb in

daily use to imply a total change or transfer, is derived from the circumstance: "Portant a carrus sa perda de Tarrus."

The Mar-e-Pontis, so called from the bridges crossing the streams of the lagunes, is about seven miles long and four miles and a half wide. The lagunes are divided off by thick fences of reeds well bound together, and attached to poles driven firmly into the soil; though some of them are moveable for admitting the fish, which come up in immense shoals from the sea.

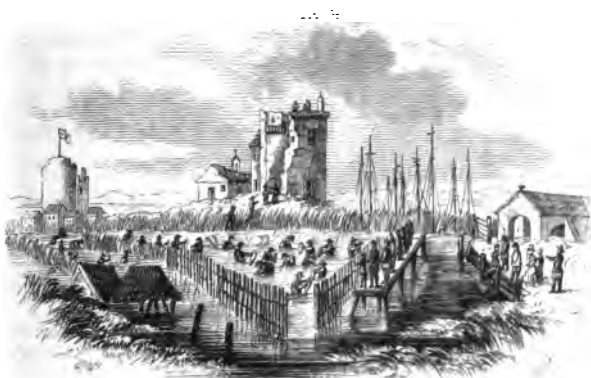
The fishing day in the summer is Thursday, and in the winter Tuesday, and the viandanti of the surrounding districts then assemble for the purpose of carrying the booty to the villages for the jour maigre of Friday. The fishery from its extent and process is one of the curiosities of the island, and I had a favorable opportunity of seeing it. The new Viceroy having expressed a wish to witness the scene when returning from Sassari to Cagliari, all due preparations were made for his reception; and being personally acquainted with him, and having been invited by the authorities of Oristano to accompany them, we started at three o'clock in the morning to meet him. Heavy, close, and mephitic exhalations, arising from the undrained lands and marshes, continued for several hours after the sun had risen, and though the hour before sunrise is generally the coldest of the night, a suffocating aguish warmth made one believe the Sarde proverb of Oristano,—“A Oristano che ghe va, in Oristano ghe restà,” to be well founded, but the “restà” by no means signifies the satisfied contentment of the somewhat analogous Neapolitan proverb, “Vedi Napoli e poi mori.”

On our arrival at the lagunes we found all the fences closed up for the battue, and across the first and lowest



division a long net was drawn by about 100 men on each side, preceded a few yards by an immense barge, which, gradually moving up the lagune drove all the fish forward into the next division, except those which anticipated their doom by rising to the surface, and leaping into the barge. On entering the second lagune, the doorways were closed, and the same process continued, till arriving at the third, where the scene of havoc commenced. This chamber being already tolerably full, the arrival of the shoals from the other chambers produced a strange scene; some of the fish springing up to avoid the confusion fell into the barge, others leaped so high and far that they effected their escape over the nets into the rear, or dashed themselves blindly against the men who were wading in the water, giving blows of such smartness and weight that the human race were at times driven back by the finny tribe. The battle was a matter of much amusement, but the chamber was at length closed, and the slaughter, a small imitation of the scene of the "*camera di morte*" in the Tunny fishery, though different in the process, then commenced. About fifty men were waiting to perform their part in the drama, most of them naked, with a net-bag or wallet round their waists, a short bludgeon in their hands, and a piece of string with a sharp wooden skewer attached to it. On a given signal they plunged into the lagune, which was from four to five feet deep, seized on the fish nearest the surface, and with great dexterity simultaneously struck a death blow on the head with the bludgeon. This wholesale murder continued as long as any remained near the surface, each victim at his death being put into the wallet or strung upon the string with the skewer, according to their size; after which the men began diving for them. It was

extremely ludicrous to see them re-appear with their prey, which when of a large size would struggle furiously with them, and frequently escape. When the



FISHERY AT CABRAS.

wallet and string were full, the spoil was landed, and the half ogre, half mermen, for such they looked, with their long wet hair and swarthy blood-stained bodies, half in and half out of the water, re-commenced their labor.

The quickness and activity with which it was done, together with the hilarity of the whole scene, were very exciting. The fishermen were naturally anxious that the viceroy's sport should be most successful, and so great was the rapidity with which they dived and brought up their spoil, that one might have suspected the "*Ipse capi voluit, quid apertius?*"—that the loyal and obliging victims were sacrificing themselves for his amusement; or if their self-devotion did not quite extend to this point, that a number of dead fish had been recently thrown

into this corner of the stagno. Though not very similar to this vice-regal scene, it brought to one's memory the anecdote of the fishing party given by Cleopatra, at Alexandria, to Antony, and to which Shakspeare slightly alludes. The "soft triumvir" had been unsuccessful in his sport, and imagining his ill luck might be unfavorable in her eyes, he privately ordered some of the fishermen to dive down and fasten on his hook some of the fishes which had been previously taken. The scheme answered very well for three or four times, till Cleopatra discovered it; but with her usual astuteness she pretended not to have perceived it, and expressing her astonishment at his success to the royal party, she invited them to a further exhibition of it in another fishing excursion on the morrow. They accordingly re-assembled, and the vessel was crowded to see Antony's good fortune. Cleopatra, in the meanwhile, had given secret instructions to one of the fishermen to dive down and put a salt fish on the hook, which Antony imagining when he felt his line pulled, to be one of the fishes which he had ordered to be put on, "he with fervency drew up." The discovery of course produced great mirth and amusement at his expense, and Cleopatra turning to him said, "Go, General; leave fishing to us petty princes of Pharos and Canopus,—your game is cities, kingdoms, and provinces."

The Cabras fishery, belonging to the Duke de Pasqua, is rented at 12,000 scudi, or 2304*l.*, and was for sale at the price of 220,000 scudi, or 42,240*l.* The value of each haul, or rather slaughter, varies from 50 to 1000 lire nove, or from 2*l.* to 40*l.* sterling.

It is impossible to give an account of the variety of fish which were taken; but of the excellence of their flavor, it may be safely asserted that no dinner at the

Rocher de Cancale, or whitebait feast, can compare with the breakfast which was prepared for us. Countless dishes of different fish, dressed in different ways, appeared and disappeared incessantly; the utmost efforts were of course made to astonish a vice-regal taste and curiosity, and so successfully, that he, as well as all the party, agreed that to the last meal of their lives they should never forget a Cabras fish feast.

On leaving Oristano for Fordongianus, the road passes through fine olive groves and cultivated lands with high cactus hedges. The river Tirso, having no beauty, but abounding in eels, which, for their peculiar flavor, are held in high admiration, flows close to the village of Sili, without giving any picturesque effect; and, continuing along its shores for some distance the path leads to Simaxis, from whence, passing Ollastra, Villanova di Truscheddu, and ascending the verdureless hill of Balargianus, there is a beautiful view from its summit. The Monte Brighini, also called Ghirghini, rises finely to the south and south-east; its highest summit, the Cucuru mannu, 2275 feet, sheltering the spacious valley of the Tirso, which runs from west to east. A beautiful descent through an underwood of arbutus, myrtle, and lentiscus, with innumerable wild flowers trailing over and among them, leads to the village of Fordongianus, the Aquæ Hypsitaneæ of Ptolemy; and which received a Roman colony under Trajan, from whom it derives its name; Forum Trajani, for such it was called, having been abbreviated into Foro-janus, Fortianjani, and hence to Fordongianus. One of the Roman roads, according to the Itinerary of Antonine, passed through it from Abbasanta to Siapicia, the traces of which still exist, and serve as a path from the Marghine plain to that of

Sardara and Sanluri. A Roman milestone with an inscription mentioning the repair of the road during the reign of Æmilianus, A. D. 255, is in a good state of preservation. Justinian surrounded the city with a wall, which the Vandals and Saracens subsequently destroyed, as they did those at Uselli.

No mention is made of any important part which Fordongianus may have taken in the subsequent ages; but the remains of several castles in the neighbourhood shew that it had its share in the vicissitudes of the island. Between Villanova, Truscheddu, and Paulolantino, are the vestiges of one called Ginapala, given by Pietro, the Giudice of Arborea, to the Papal see in 1237; and which, in the year 1834, was excavated by the people in their belief of finding the treasures guarded by spirits. Fordongianus, with a population of 1026 inhabitants, is in a miserable state; the school is shut up, as the priests do not attend to the education; the stipend of ten scudi, 1*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* per annum, not being worth their labor.

According to Mattei, there was a bishop of Fordongianus in the year 484; an uninteresting matter of ecclesiastical dispute.

The bridge crossing the Tirso, and built close to the remains of the Roman one, is about 154 yards long, and composed of a few decayed planks over some equally decayed piles, just wide enough to admit a man or beast passing, but not without imminent risk of both falling through the large holes and fissures which lie gaping at every step. Both bridges are very picturesque objects, and, were even one of them in a proper state of repair, and a road made from Abbasanta through Fordongianus by the Usellus valley and Ales to Sardara, an extensive and profitable trade might be

carried on. The flax grown in the district, though it does not amount to above 5000 cantars (between 208 and 209 tons), is reckoned the best in the island, and fetches in the southern parts, as well as at Tempio, thirteen and fourteen reals the pound (4*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* and 5*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* the pound), whereas that grown in other parts does not exceed eight or ten reals, or 3*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* to 3*s.* 10*d.* The pomegranate trees are remarkable for their beauty, and excepting those in the famous groves a few miles from Sardis in Asia Minor, I never saw any more luxuriant. All the crops and vegetation were abundant, and with the advantages of great natural fertility, and a river flowing to the sea, the district might become of as much importance as it was during the Roman dominion.

The mineral springs, rising on the south side of the river, and at a short distance from the village, differ in their temperature; one rising from a hole surrounded with stones, and overgrown with rushes and reeds, did not reach above ninety-eight degrees Fahrenheit; near it, and proceeding from the remains of a fountain and basin, evidently Roman, was the hottest, which came forth in a clear and copious volume. It contains sulphates of lime, magnesia, and soda, with hydrochlorates of lime and magnesia. My thermometer not ranging above 140, I could not ascertain its temperature; but as it immediately went up to that degree, it would doubtless have reached 155, which is said to be the heat.

Several other sources not so strongly impregnated are used by the people, not only medicinally, but as a general beverage; for when it is cool, and the strength of the flavor has evaporated, the water is by no means unpleasant in taste. As these springs are tolerably ac-

cessible, they are more used than any others in the island; those who frequent them adopting the same system as has been described at the banks of the Coghinas. Among the ruins adjoining these sources is a long and narrow archway, forming a corridor, from the abutments of which springs a large arch,—all apparently parts of the Roman baths; and near them are remains of a square building, so dilapidated that it is difficult to guess its original use. A fig-tree growing close to it should be remarked for its size, the circumference of its stem being six feet eight inches. Old Roman brick walls are visible in various places, and many of the village cottages are built with them, and with large well-carved stones of the same date, some of which have inscriptions. The greatest quantity of ruins are, however, to be found on a hill to the south and south-west of the village, now so covered with underwood that it would require considerable time to make the proper excavations; but from the valuable antiquities of all kinds which have been met with accidentally, there is no doubt a systematic search would be extremely interesting and profitable.

Not far from the village are some artificial caverns and recesses, known as “Is domigheddas,” but they are not worth visiting. The church of Saint Lussorio, a curious old building about two miles from the village, is an object of great veneration to the Fordongiani, being supposed to have once contained the body of that saint and several others; but though none of them are now there, tradition has hallowed the spot, and a great festa in honor of the saint is celebrated on the 21st of August, with various ceremonies and amusements.

The scenery was enlivened by the groups of people, in their fullest costume, who had been attending a wed-

ding, with the usual festivities on such occasions, called "sas bodas." I was too late to witness it; but I had an opportunity of seeing the marriage customs elsewhere. They vary in many details according to local habits and fancies; but in the following general usages in the rural districts, the descriptions of various authors have been consulted, and such other particulars added as I heard and saw,—especially those in which the ancient Roman customs may be recognised.

The courtship may be presumed to have been carried on in the usual mode,—*"amor omnibus idem;"* but when the formal proposal and arrangements are to be made, the lover, accompanied by his most intimate friend, proceeds to the house of his inamorata. Sometimes the father of the young man is the ambassador; but, whichever it may be, he enters into a formal and serious conversation with the parents of the girl, in metaphorical language borrowed from, and in unison with, their habits and ideas,—saying that he "wishes to have one of their sheep, which is to be the pride and glory of his own flock at home;" or the pastoral parable is to the effect that "he has lost a sheep, and is sure that they have concealed it in their house." If the parents are agreeable to the match, a search is then made for it, and a ridiculously serious argument is carried on, the parents bringing forward their children one after the other, until the wished-for or supposed sheep is found. The daughter selected is generally reserved to the last, adding thereby to the amusement of the farce, which is prolonged sometimes for a couple of hours. The rejoicing on the finding of the lost sheep is great, and the parties then proceed to the dull reality of the pounds, shillings, and pence. This unsentimental part of the drama consists in an arrange-



ment as to the “*segnali*,” or pledges of reciprocal gifts and goods which each party is to make. The day is also fixed for this exchange ; and these preliminaries being finished, the parties separate. This meeting and ceremony are called the “*ora del bacio*,” as the kiss given by the lover to his lost sheep is the solemn pledge of the contract, from which he cannot swerve without serious consequences to himself, and dishonor to the fiancée.

The day of betrothal and contract—the “*sponsalia*” and “*pactum*”—at length arrives.\* The friends of the bridegroom, called “*paralympbos*,” a name and office similar to that of the Greeks, form a procession, and carry the articles composing his store, to her father’s house ; where, on their arrival, they knock at the door, and pretend to be impatient because it is not immediately opened to them. The inmates, in their turn, performing their part with no less formality, inquire who and what the people are who thus intrude upon them ; and, in answer to their question of what they bring, the *paralympbos* say that they have “honor and virtue.” On this satisfactory reply they are admitted ; the parents then receive them with cordiality, and present them to the assembled family and friends, all attired in their gayest costume for the reception.

They then proceed to the exchange of the *segnali*, and the list of the various articles being examined, the reciprocal dowry is signed, sealed, and delivered, by a feast.

“*Signatæ tabulæ, dictum feliciter ! ingens  
Cœna sedet.*” †

But this custom is far from general ; for those who

\* Juvenal Sat. vi. 25.

† Juvenal ii. 119.

have only a small collection of furniture require no "tabulæ," and trust to the chances of their subsequent occupation for obtaining whatever may be necessary. The peasants act on the old adage—unless obliged by poverty to continue residing in the house of their parents—

"Think of your home before you marry,  
And have a house wherein to tarry."

And the dwelling, however humble it may be, is entirely furnished anew; as a prejudice exists against anything second-hand on this occasion. The husband provides the house, and everything belonging to his profession; but the larger portion of the furniture is brought by the wife, and in the event of her decease without issue, all she has contributed is restored to her family, unless there is some special agreement to the contrary.

After these preliminaries, the day of the marriage is fixed, and publicly announced in the village church on three consecutive Sundays.

Eight days before it takes place, there is another ceremony, called "*Sa porta de sa robba*," or the carrying his goods, in which the bridegroom, accompanied by his friends, proceeding again in procession to the house of the bride, takes with him in carts and waggons whatever articles he has undertaken to supply. Piece by piece is again examined, and arrangements having been made for substitution or deficiency, they are re-packed, and the whole procession proceeds with them to the new house of the bridegroom.

The bride has now her part to perform; and a few days after his store has been deposited at his house, she makes a similar procession to it with her own "*supellex*"

and paraphernalia,—in the original and classical sense of the word; jewellers' and milliners' handicraft being unknown. Headed by the launedda players, the cavalcade proceeds, each friend carrying some little object which could not be well trusted to the carts. One takes a looking-glass, another a basket of crockery and glasses, and a third holds a new distaff, with the flax or wool ready to be wound off. The latter articles were also customary gifts to the Roman brides.\* Another guest carries the picture of the favorite or patron saint, destined to adorn the nuptial bed. The Romans had the images of their marriage deities similarly placed. Rosini (*Antiquit.*) enters into an explanation of the peculiar influences they were supposed to possess; but it is difficult to say which is the most contemptible, the indecency of the heathens, or the superstition of the Christians.

A pillow, trimmed with colored ribbons and myrtle, is another favorite gift; and the prettiest maiden of the party is selected to carry the vase or jug to be used hereafter by the bride for fetching water, but which, on this occasion, is filled with flowers. Each of her friends is, in fact, the bearer of some little article of future use; and behind them follow the carts with the other goods, drawn by oxen, their horns being covered with colored bands, and an orange fastened on the tips. Some wheat, and the grinding stones, which form an integral part of almost every moderately-sized cottage, fill a separate cart; and attached to the latter by a cord is the ass who is thus introduced to the future labors of his life. His ears and tail being adorned with ribbons and flowers,—the first and last day of his ease and luxury,

\* *Vide* Ovid, *Fast.* lib. ii. 742; Pliny, lib. viii. ch. 48; and Plutarch in "*Quæstionibus Romanis.*"

—gives rise to much badinage on the occasion, not very complimentary to the bridegroom from the sympathy which is playfully extended to him, as well as the patient beast; and the bridal orange concealing the tips of the horns of the oxen, is also interpreted as a significative allegory.

The rest of the marriage guests bring up the rear of the procession, and on their arrival at the bridegroom's house they unpack the carts, the hero himself taking the lead in the work. The jests are still carried on against him, and amid the coarse merriment of the party he is made to carry the mattress to the nuptial room; where his companions roll and half-smother him in it; a joke which La Marmora drily explains as "pour faire allusion sans doute au fardeau qu'il va s'imposer."

All the furniture being properly arranged is adorned with flowers, which however faded, it would be heretical to remove; and for many months their relics may be found about the house.

The marriage day has at length arrived, and the bridegroom proceeds with his usual retinue to the house of the bride, who on his arrival takes her farewell, receives the blessing of her parents, and is consigned into the hands of the priest.

The procession now moves forward to the church, the bride generally taking with her a bottle of wine and a cake of the finest wheat, colored with saffron and adorned with flowers, as a present to the priest; she distributes also similar cakes of her own making to the friends who accompany her.

The ceremony being over, they return to her father's home, where at the marriage feast, the young couple, seated next to each other, eat soup out of the same

basin, and with the same spoon,—the first proof of their indivisibility and mutual support. This binding act is renewed on other occasions, such as the first meal after her confinement, on the anniversary of their wedding day, &c.; but my informant did not tell me whether the soup tasted as sweetly on the subsequent events as on the first.

The marriage day is said to be one of the most painful, though it may subsequently prove the happiest in the life of a woman: the melancholy tenderness in parting from her relatives, together with her fears and anxieties, overbalancing for the moment the happiness of her union with the object of her affections; and her drooping silence, arising from the conflict of these feelings diminishes much from the hilarity which the joyous event demands. But if this downcast silence may be a natural effect and result, what can one think of an artificial gravity and taciturnity compulsorily imposed on a bride during her wedding day in many parts of Sardinia? Seated on a chair in full marriage costume, she is not allowed to move or speak during the whole day, though around her all is festivity and merry-making. Immoveable, she receives the visits and congratulations of the assembled guests, and ventures not to reply, nor is the silent system relaxed till the evening, when she leaves her chair to start for her own house. She is then seated on a horse gaily caparisoned in all the extravagance of ribbons and ornaments, and led by one of the party at the right hand of the bridegroom, the females following behind her, and the men joining in his retinue. The cavalcade is preceded by the incessant launedda performing a nuptial song, in which the whole party occasionally joins.

“Turba ruunt, et Hymen clamant, Hymenæe frequentant.”

On their arrival at the court of their house, the mother or nearest relative receives the bride at the entrance, and sprinkles on her some grain and salt; the “*confarreatio*” of the Romans.\* Having reached the door of the house, she alights from her horse upon a little table covered with a smart piece of carpet or embroidery, and by a step from it passes into the house without touching the threshold. Pliny† mentions this usage, and it is further dilated on by Rosini.‡ Plutarch also speaks of it in *Quæstionibus Romanis*, 29, and enters into a disquisition less chaste than classical, the basis of which is that the threshold was sacred to Vesta.

The bride is then escorted to “*sa domu et lettu*,” the bridal chamber, the nearest relatives sprinkling on her some “*razia*,” *bons-bons* made of sugared nuts and almonds,—the Roman “*sparge nuces*,” “*da nuces pueris*,” &c. § A glass of water is also emptied at her feet the moment she enters her room. This was likewise presented to the Roman bride, but accompanied with fire, a custom explained by Ovid.||

It being usual in many parts of the island for married people to be buried in their wedding clothes, which are never worn but on those two occasions, the friends and relatives of the bride, while undressing her, allude to it with appropriate sentiments. She appeals to them, hoping their friendship may continue till death, and that they may be then the persons to re-clothe her in her marriage garments, to which they of course reply, “*May you live for a thousand years* ;” “*May the clothes consume away before that fatal period*,” and such like compliments. A dance, with the usual accompaniments,

\* *Vide* Pliny, lib. xviii. ch. 2.

† Lib. xxviii. ch. 9.

‡ “*De Nuptiis*,” &c., p. 448. § *Vide* Virgil, Catullus, &c.

|| *Fæst.* iv. 787, and Varro, lib. iv. *Vide* also Rosini.

terminates the festivities of the evening. The bride receives none of her relatives during the three first days of her marriage, but during that time has a young maiden companion to stay with her, called in Sarde, "Sposa e angulis," the origin of which expression is uncertain.

In connection with the foregoing subject, some customs relative to child-birth and burial may be here mentioned. If the picture of the patron saint, or Virgin Mary, destined to be hung up in the marriage-bed, was much invoked, she is still more so at the period of child-birth. A case occurred within my own knowledge, in which the appeals to "La Santissima Madre" were of such a character that her attributes reminded one of those of the heathen Bona Dea.\*

The continual exercise and employment to which the Sarde women are subjected during their pregnancy, added to the warmth of the climate, facilitates child-birth; and the want of, as well as prejudice against, accoucheurs and midwives, elsewhere alluded to, obliges them to adopt the same mode of delivery as that in Spain. Straw laid down to deaden the roll of chariot wheels, knockers tied up with white kid, closed bedroom shutters, strict domestic injunctions as to silence and quiet, are not the concomitants of a Sarde confinement. In many parts of the island the friends and relatives assemble in the adjoining room, if there is one, if not, at the door, and dance and sing for several consecutive hours, frequently continuing their orgies during the whole of the night, the poor woman's rest and quiet being supposed to be highly honored and ensured by such compliments and congratulations.

\* *Vide* Horace, Carm. Sæcul. 13, and "Orpheus's Hymn to Diana," v. 3.

The Sardes wash the new-born infant with tepid wine, and rub it gently but thoroughly with salt, before it is swaddled ; a custom of some antiquity, for Plutarch, in his life of Lycurgus, says that " the Lacedæmonians did not wash their new-born infants with water, but with wine, thus making some trial of their habit of body, imagining that sickly and epileptic children sink and die under the experiment, while the healthy become more vigorous and hardy." The rubbing with salt is of still more ancient origin, and may be traced to the Jews. Ezekiel\* alludes to it—" Thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all."

La Marmora mentions, but doubts, a custom relative to childbirth, said to exist in some districts, but which I could nowhere find in force, though perfectly well known by report. The woman, as soon as she can move after her delivery, attends her husband, who lying in bed and receiving the same care, attention, and nutritious support which she herself would require, adopts the same régime and exactness as if he himself had really been delivered of the offspring. So absurd is the notion, that it would not be worth mentioning were it not currently known and stated that the same thing existed formerly in the province of Bearn, in the Basses Pyrenées. I saw and heard of many prejudices in those parts, but this folly was not among them ; and its présent existence in either of the countries may reasonably be doubted.

La Marmora imagines its origin in the previously mentioned circumstance of the husband and wife eating out of the same basin and with the same spoon, as they did on their marriage-day, on the event of the birth of a child ; but though the husband may be seated on the

\* Chapter xvi. verse 4.



side of his wife's bed on that occasion, the links between the ceremonies are not sufficiently strong to connect one with the other. It is possible, however, that the custom existed in former days, as it was prevalent in Corsica, for Diodorus Siculus,\* speaking of that island, says, "A most paradoxical system exists among them relative to the birth of their children; for when the woman is in labor, no care is taken of her during her confinement, but the husband goes to bed as if he were ill, and there remains for certain days, as if he himself were suffering the pains."

The rites of burial and mourning in Sardinia are so similar to those in other Roman Catholic countries, that the exceptions only require a remark. The dead, if they have been married, are, as previously mentioned, buried in the dress they wore on their marriage-day, and attired with as much pomp and show as on that festive occasion; the ornaments of any value, which might tempt the sacrilegious violator of the tomb, being removed from the person when lowered into the grave.

The funeral rites are celebrated with much parade, being grounded in the strong prejudice and belief that it is pleasing to the dead; and forms of mourning are strictly adhered to.

The men do not shave for a year, considering neglect of person and dress a necessary outward show of grief. The women, equally inattentive on this point, seldom go out of their houses during the year of mourning, and for the customary suit of woe, wear a kind of dark brown cloth cape, one end of which covers all the face, except the eyes; reminding one of the ordinary dress of Mahometan women.

\* Lib. v. ch. 14.

In some places a custom prevails, more filthy for the living than complimentary to the dead. The widow does not change, or even wash the shift she wore on the day of her husband's decease, till it is positively in rags upon her back;—a very tender sentiment of plighted affection, but certainly a novel interpretation of "*Love's last shift.*"

By an old law of Carlos II., dated April 29th, 1520, a year's mourning, called "*Plor,*" was given to the widow, according to her rank; the apportionment of her husband's goods was fixed; and the "*exgrex*" or dowery was settled on the heirs of her husband in the event of her decease.

On the anniversaries of a death and wedding-day, on the fiftieth day after it, and on the festa of the saint after whom the deceased was named,—all of which are kept with much solemnity—the survivor visits the tomb, has a mass or blessing said for the departed soul, and a funeral feast in the evening.

A widower or widow entering a second time into the married state frequently is serenaded by the village boys, who, assembling under their windows, beat and clang together old pots and pans, chains, and pieces of metal, adding other discordant sounds, such as blowing through rams' horns and large shells, called "*sos conchizos.*" This ceremony of "*Sa Sonaza*" is sometimes used as a reproach, and at others as a compliment to the bridal parties.

In many parts, widows are only allowed to enter the church by one of the side-doors; a custom for which no reason was assigned. These usages in the marriage, childbirth, and funeral ceremonies, will be found to vary so much in different provinces that this account may prove to be a general notion of them rather

than a precise exemplification of any one in particular.

The abundance of the *ranunculus sceleratus* in the Fordongianus valleys brings to mind the subject of the Sardonian laugh or grin. According to ancient belief, a contraction of the muscles of the face was produced by eating a certain plant, accompanied by such involuntary contortions that it gave rise to the expression of "laughing in spite of one's self," and subsequently was synonymously used for a hypocritical or doubting sneer.

A physician, resident in one of the towns, whose knowledge in botany, acquired in a foreign university, and practical experience in the island, entitled his statements to credit, informed me that there are two plants: one, a species of wild parsley, known to us as the *æthusa cynapium*; the other, the *ranunculus sceleratus*, or celery-leaved crowfoot, though by others supposed to be a smaller kind, or spearwort—both of which abound in marshy places, and are mistaken frequently by the lower orders for edible plants. The effects of eating it are nausea, vomiting, and vertigo, followed by a contraction not only of the nerves of the face, but in other parts; and the remedies he applied on such occasions were emetics, olive oil, bleeding, simple diet, and eau sucrée.

Captain Smyth says, "In my frequent inquiries on the subject, I found the belief of its existence very general, and the "risus Sardonius" a familiar term. It was described by some as a parasitic weed, growing on the banks of rivulets amongst aquatic plants, being called 'Djarra' at Terranova, and 'Cohone' at Tempio. A farmer at Alghero told me that it was very dangerous to eat water-cresses, as the fatal parasite ad-

hered closely to the leaves, and begged me therefore to order my boats' crew to throw away some very fine ones which they had just gathered. Still, as I could not procure a specimen at either of those places, or get any authentic relation of accident therefrom, I must either conclude the herb not to have been hitherto recognised by the moderns, or that the whole story is entitled to no more credence than that of the wonderful fountains, &c."

We may now see how far these statements are confirmed by ancient authorities.

Pliny \* speaks of four kinds of *ranunculus*, the second of which corresponds with the "sceleratus" above-mentioned; and the *apiastrum*, or *melissophyllon*, — our *æthusa cynapium*, he states to be "for its poisonous qualities, utterly condemned in Sardinia."

Dioscorides † says, that, "when eaten, it makes the eater lose his senses, and produces a certain spasm, so that it appears really as if they who eat it are continually laughing: that from thence is the proverb of Sardinian laugh. Honey and water, and large quantities of milk, are to be given to the patients to drink. Hot-baths of oil and water, friction, and anointing, and then other remedies, as in cases of spasms."

Andres de Laguna, in his commentary on the passage in his work, "*Sobre Dioscorides Amazarbeo*" (dedicated, by-the-bye, to the Empress of Heaven, the Virgin of the Afflicted, — "*A la Emperatriz de Cielo, La Virgen de los desamparados*"), speaks of treating the case similarly to any other spasm, but requiring

\* Lib. xxv. ch. 109.

† Lib. vi. ch. 14.

heat to be applied. Part of his remedy is amusing: "Tienese pues en este caso por remedio excellente la borrachez; y ansi conviene emborrachar los pacientes, dandoles a beber vino dulce en gran cantidad para que duerman muy largo tiempo."—"Drunkenness in this case is an excellent remedy; and therefore it is necessary to make the patients drunk, giving them a great quantity of sweet wine, so that they may sleep for a long time." He then adds fomentations of wine and various herbs, applied especially to the spinal vertebræ and neck.

Solinus Polyhistor \* gives a similar account of the effect of this plant.

The proverbial expression of "Sardonic grin" is of some antiquity. Homer uses it,† and on the passage the commentators have entered into a long dissertation, attributing its origin to the custom of accabadura, a subject elsewhere mentioned.

For further illustrations the reader is referred to Strabo, Plato,‡ Cicero, Virgil, Polybius, Plutarch, Lucianus, and Xenodotus, all of whom use the expression in a similar sense. The words of Pausanias are, perhaps, sufficiently interesting to be fully extracted: "The island is likewise free from all kinds of poisonous and deadly herbs, excepting one which resembles parsley, and which, they say, causes those who eat it to die laughing. From this circumstance,

\* Chapter iv.

† Odyss. xx. v. 301.

‡ Lib. i.—Cicero, Epist. ad Fam. lib. vii.; Epist. xxv. ad Fabium.—Virgil, Ecl. vii. v. 41; Æneid. i. v. 213.—Polybius, lib. xvii. ch. 7.—Plutarch, Vita Caius Gracchus, ch. 12, and in the "Essay on the Doctrines of Epicurus."—Lucianus, Lucius sive Asinus, ch. 23.—Xenodotus, Centuria v. No. 85.—Pausanias, lib. x. ch. 17.

Homer first, and others after him, call laughter which conceals some noxious design, Sardonian. This herb is mostly produced about fountains, yet it does not communicate its poisonous quality to the water." Xenodotus, mentioning the proverb, \* alludes to an expression of Æschylus which has been interpreted similarly to the passage in Homer, as referring to the accabadura; and Andrea Schotto has given some learned remarks on the subject in his edition of Xenodotus. †

Almost all botanists speak of the bitterness of the ranunculus tribe, especially the sceleratus; and, from the foregoing authorities, it is evident its peculiar qualities were as well known to the ancient, as they certainly are to the present inhabitants of the island; and the uses of the plant, as given in the modern pharmacopœias, entirely confirm the fable and proverb; but with this difference that, instead of being a dangerous, it is now a valuable medicinal herb.

Proceeding southwards from Oristano, the traveller passes over the Campo di Santa Anna, an extensive plain devoid of all interesting scenery, but from which the best wheat in the island is produced. The village of Uras is only celebrated for a battle between the Aragon Viceroy Carroz, and Leonardo d'Aragon, Marquis of Oristano, in 1470. A personal and political enmity existed between them, and the former proceeded from Cagliari to enforce that submission and vassalage to the King which the Marquis had refused. The whole Giudicato rallied around the standard of Arborea, which was unfurled against the Viceroy, and, under the walls of this town, a destructive engagement took place, which terminated in the overthrow and slaughter of the

\* Centuria v. n. 85.

† Antw. 1611, p. 147.

Aragon forces, and by the victorious Marquis following up his conquests to Cagliari. At a subsequent period, Uras, when besieged, was saved by the troops marching round and round the church, a ruse which completely deceived the besiegers as to the actual force which defended the place.

On the hills to the west of Sardara are the ruins of the château Monreale, formerly one of the palaces of the Giudici of Arborea, and in 1324 the residence of Doña Teresa, the wife of Alfonso of Aragon, while he was besieging Cagliari. The outer walls, some covered passages, and two of the towers, are still extant.

At Sardara are some remains of the ancient Neapolis, and some mineral springs, the "*Aquæ Neapolitanæ*," in the Itinerary of Antonine. They contain carbonic acid gas, sulphuret of hydrogen, carbonate of soda, sulphuret of soda, and sulphate of magnesia, and their temperature is 140 of Fahrenheit.

At Sanluri, the old château and several churches are worth examining. I happened to be there during a festa, which aroused the village from its general lethargic dulness. The female costume consisted of a brocaded velvet vest, fastened tightly round the waist by a large silver chain, from which hung a kind of apron. The petticoats were of various colors, and a white or colored kerchief, worn similarly to that by the Roman peasants, formed the head-dress.

Sanluri, like Uras, was the scene of one of the frequent contests between the Aragon and Sarde arms. Aimerico Visconte di Narbonna, the husband of Beatrice, the youngest sister of Leonora, was elected Giudice in 1408; but Don Martino, King of Sicily,—son of Don Martino, King of Aragon,—determined on opposing him, and reducing the province of Arborea to

submission, left Trapani in Sicily, and arrived at Alghero, where his fleet gained a decisive victory over the Genoese and their Sarde allies. In the meanwhile, a large reinforcement was sent from Catalonia to meet him at Cagliari, from whence he marched to Sanluri, and an engagement took place in 1499, equally well contested by both parties, but terminating in the defeat of Aimerico and the slaughter of 5000 Sardes on the spot. The town was then given over to pillage, and 1000 of the inhabitants put to the sword. Flushed with victory, Don Martino intended to attack Oristano and Villa Iglesias; but his early habits of dissoluteness, contracted in Sicily, were renewed in Sardinia, and, enthralled by the charms of a Sanluri beauty, he sacrificed his health in every species of debauchery, and died a victim to his follies.

To the west of Sanluri is the agricultural establishment, called Vittorio Emanuele, in compliment to the eldest son of the King,—the only one in the island where the Government has encouraged private individuals in draining and cultivating the lands. In 1838, the King conceded by letters patent a considerable extent of land, together with the Stagno di Sanluri, to some French agriculturists, who undertook to drain the lagune and erect model farms, the rental of the ground being fixed at a small sum. The enclosure consists of about 6000 starelli, or about 5911 acres. Considerable opposition to the institution arose at its earliest formation, not only from the prejudice and ignorance of the people, but from a belief that the Stagno itself communicated with the sea, and that the soil beneath was merely an incrustation of salt. The scheme was denounced and ridiculed; but, as soon as the company made their appearance to commence operations in 1838,



these imaginary difficulties vanished, and an abundance of hands applied for employment. The enterprise was carried on with success during 1839; the boundaries were finished, a farm was built, and the lagune, covering a space of about 4326 acres, and five feet three inches deep, and 213 feet three inches above the level of the sea, was drained by a canal about four and one-sixth miles long.

In 1840 another farm was finished, a church built, some of the land brought into cultivation, and plantations made; but the decomposition of vegetable matter, and exhalations from the drying marshes, produced so much miasma and fever, that almost all the laborers who had come from the continent as servants of the company, died. As many as twenty-seven out of thirty-one are said to have fallen victims; but this fearful mortality was mainly attributed to their carelessness and imprudence: experience in this and other points proving that the employment of the natives, and the local resources, were the best chances of success. Sarde laborers were subsequently enlisted; the plantations, brought from the continent, part of which had failed, and the rest been maliciously cut down, were replaced by indigenous trees; the Sarde ox and horse were used, as better adapted than the Piedmontese race for the work and climate, though the continental ploughs, and other agricultural instruments, and a cross breed of cattle, proved to be considerable advantages.

In 1841 the good effects of the drainage and cultivation began to be felt. The new colony, and the populations, hitherto annually decimated by intemperie and fever, were but slightly attacked by sickness. The Sarde laborers employed in the places of the deceased Piedmontese and French, by working with activity and

energy, nullified and supplied the "mancanza di braccia," and were improved by the institution of an agricultural school. The whole establishment then consisted of, and still amounts to, about 130 individuals, all of whom are natives except ten, who are from the continent, and hold the upper situations. Everything is now systematically arranged; further precautions against fever have been taken; nearly twenty-five miles of canals for drainage have been made; the seasons and hours safest for work have been adopted; and the opposition raised by the neighbouring peasants, who used to break into the enclosures from a feeling of a supposed invasion of their rights of common and free warren, has gradually subsided. The undertaking has succeeded beyond expectation; the obstacles, natural and artificial, have been satisfactorily surmounted; and the profits of the speculation are the best evidences to the Sardes of their want of energy, their timidity in enterprise, and of their folly in despairing of an improvement in their moral as well as physical condition.

Monastir, situated on a slight hill to the west of Monte Zara, takes its name from an old Camaldolite monastery, the ruins of which are about two miles from the village. Immured in a corner of the church of St. Giacomo, is a Roman milestone, with an inscription, part of which was destroyed by the workmen when inserting it in the wall.

The bridge of Monastir, constructed of fine red trap, gives a peculiar appearance to the place.

The soil is volcanic, and a distinct double crater is now covered with wood.

Mulberry trees and silk-worms have been tried with such success, that the silk fetched as high a price as

that of the best quality of Piedmont; but energy or enterprise there is none,—“still the soul is wanting there.” The road from this village to Cagliari was devoid of any beautiful scenery; but the journey was rendered most agreeable by the society of my friend the Conte de La Marmora, who accompanied me to the capital.

## CHAPTER II.

Province of Iglesias.—Villages.—Castle.—Festa of Santa Greca.—Noraghe Ortu.—Grotto of San Giovanni.—Domus Novas.—Streams.—Paper Manufactory.—Failure.—City of Iglesias.—Siege in 1323.—Self-purchased Feud.—Unhealthiness.—Population.—Character and Costume.—Fertility.—Bishopric and Cathedral.—Relics.—Festa of St. Antioco.—Early Bishop of Sulci.—Monte Poni.—Minerals of Sardinia.—General Observations on their Value, Produce, and Condition.—Flumini Majori.—Climate.—Game.—Noraghe.—Superstition.—Grottoes.—Remains of Antas, the Ancient Metalla.—Villages.—Island of San Pietro.—Carthaginian and other Antiquities.—History.—Carlo Forte.—Tunisian Corsairs.—Nelson's Fleet.—Complaint of Inhospitable Treatment.—Character and Employments of the People.—Salt Marshes and Tunny Fishery.—Island of St. Antioco.—Population.—Pigeon Shooting.—Roman Roads.—Habits of the Sulcitani.—Palmas.—Cape Teulada.—Noraghe.—Pula.—Mines.—Church.—Account of Nora and the Phœnician Inscription.—Roman Aqueduct on the Ruins of a Noraghe.—Other Roman Remains.—Pula to Orri.—Improved Cultivation by the Marchese di Villahermosa.—Roman Milestone and Inscription.—Approach to Cagliari.

It was with considerable regret that I was obliged to leave Cagliari, on account of the lateness of the season, without carrying out my intention of visiting the whole of the province of Iglesias: so that for the following particulars of the parts I was unable to see, I am indebted to the private notes of some friends, and a variety of other authorities. Between Monastir and Cagliari the pathway leads off to the town of Iglesias, passing through

the village of Decimo Mannu, which takes its name from a Roman milestone found there, with an inscription to the effect that it was the tenth mile from Cagliari towards Sulci. The river Caralita rising in the Sarcidano, and receiving many little contributions, descends through the valleys and empties itself at the north-west of the Stagno di Cagliari. The little village of Domus Novas, containing about 1410 inhabitants, lies beautifully at the foot of the limestone Monte San Giovanni, in a plain well irrigated and abounding in orange-groves and other fruit-trees. In the village and its vicinity are parts of the Roman aqueduct to Cagliari, with other remains of the same epoch; those of the Castello di Gioiosa Guardia, one of the châteaux of the Giudici, and of a castle which belonged to the Gherardesca family, dismantled, as were also the fortifications around the village, in the wars between Guelfo di Gherardesca and the Giudice of Arborea.

Some hot chalybeate springs near Siliqua, bursting forth in such volume that the vapor from them is visible at some distance, are used as a remedy for all ills; and when taken in conjunction with a votive offering, are considered to be infallibly efficacious. One of the churches is held in high estimation for the tomb and bones of Santa Greca, a Sarde saint and martyr, whose intercession is said to be so valuable that the building is filled with four or five thousand votive offerings of every description. Among the amusements at her festa is one which was probably connected with some ancient sacrifice. Three cartloads of wood are made into one large pile, in different parts of which a quantity of "pani di zappa," a composition of bread and baked raisins, is placed. This "falo," or pile, is then drawn through the village by two oxen, selected and fattened

for the purpose; and if the load is not already too heavy, the young people ride on the top singing and shouting to the fullest extent of their lungs; and having made the rounds of the village, they halt at the church and burn the pile, amid a general dance and uproar.

A capuchin monastery, picturesquely situated in a copse of poplars, with a stream and orange-grove attached to it, is remarkable for the rare industry of the monks, who make the cloth of their dress for other religious establishments as well as for their own.

At the west end of the village is the Noraghe Ortu, peculiar for the number and regularity of its chambers, an excellent account of which is given by La Marmora,\* together with the plan and observations of Monsieur Cima. The exterior wall, about eight feet three inches thick, touching the inner part of the Noraghe on the east and west sides, has four openings, two on the north and two on the south; and within its periphery, which is upwards of 480 feet, are six chambers, three of them to the south and south-east, one to the north, and one on the east and west sides,—these two last being larger than the others. The entrance to the centre chamber is by a passage at the south-east, fifty-four feet long, connected with a semi-circular court, which communicates by three lateral passages with three other chambers. These unitedly form a front, and conceal the entrance to the interior cone, the centre chamber of which is about thirty-four feet in diameter at its base, and has four large recesses. As the exterior wall touches the interior part of the Noraghe in only two places, the intermediate spaces, which are very irregular, may be considered as anti-courts, and from them are entrances to each of the six chambers in the exterior

\* Vol. ii. p. 91, and plate 14.

wall. The material of the building is of schistus rock, ingrained with veins of quartz; and, as the blocks bear no evidence of hammer or chisel, the equality of their surface is as remarkable as the order and regularity of their position. Cima does not consider a second floor in the centre cone to have existed, because he does not clearly trace the usual spiral corridor which leads to it. Though he does not prove the negative, La Marmora, on the other hand, does not prove the affirmative, and presumes it only by analogy with other Noraghe; an assumption by far the most probable.

The Grotto of San Giovanni, situated in a mountain of the same name, and overhanging the village, is supposed to have been formed by the sinking of the stratum. The northern entrance to this natural tunnel is from the valley of Orida, and that on the southern side of the mountain is in a large stalactitic cavern in a rock eighty to ninety feet high and 130 broad, according to Captain Smyth, and preserving the same breadth to the distance of 300 feet inside.

On the right hand are the remains of a wall thirteen feet thick, composed of large stones cemented together with reddish clay, which by the filtration from the limestone roof of the grotto into the interstices has become as hard as the stones themselves. The wall, evidently made to close up the sides, and leaving only a small space for the entrance with some steps about four feet wide, leads to the top; that which existed formerly in the interior of the passage has been mostly destroyed by the Orida stream which flowed by it; and stalagmites are formed on the remains. After passing the first passage which stands north and south, the grotto takes an irregular zigzag direction, and one enters a cavern more than 164 feet high. A little

mountain stream bubbles over its base, and on either side is a kind of gallery, the walls of which are covered with moss and lichen. Continuing onwards, the passage has a bend, which obscures the daylight, and taking a north-westerly direction for about eighty-two feet, and then to the south-westward for about ninety-eight feet, it forms a curve of 164 feet to the north-north west, from whence it runs to the north-east for upwards of 230. Here it again bends to the north-north west for 115 feet, and returns to the north-east for 164 feet ; at which part the stalagmites and crystallisations are very splendid. The last part of the passage, upwards of 328 feet long, now turns to the north, and the daylight at the extreme end is just visible. On each side are little galleries similar to those on the south entrance ; and on the left, as well as in other parts of the grotto, a fine greyish marble forms part of the natural wall. About fifty yards from the end is the shrine of San Giovanni, and behind it, the last of the stalagmites, called "lachitus" from the little basin or reservoir about it. The northern aperture was of similar construction to that at the south, though not so large ; the wall, encrusted with filtrations, being only ten and a-half feet thick.

There is no early account of this grotto, nor any clue to the date of the building of the walls, but it is believed that at the period of their formation the Oridda stream took a different course down the Monte Giovanni ; and that being subsequently dammed up, was turned into its present channel. Captain Smyth states the total length of the grotto to be nearly a mile and a quarter ; in many parts upwards of 300 feet in breadth and 120 in height ; according to other calculations it is only 1313 feet, in which latter case though not comparable with that at Posilipo, which is three quar-



ters of a mile long, it is nevertheless an object of interest from the natural beauty, as well as from the mystery of the human labor which has been expended on it.

Not far from this spot the *Uccherutta de San Giovanni* springs from a cleft in the rock, in position and adjuncts somewhat resembling the fountain of *Vaucluse*. The Roman aqueduct to *Cagliari* was considered to have been supplied by this little stream; but recent discoveries have traced it to the fountain called *Cabudabbas* near *Villa Massargia*. An examination and survey of these springs and aqueduct were made some time since to ascertain how far they might be again used to supply the capital with water from this district, when the *Uccherutta di San Giovanni* was found to be the preferable source, being 619 feet above the level of the sea, and 193 feet above the tower of *San Pancrazio*;—one of the highest points of *Cagliari*; whereas the *Cabudabbas* of *Villa Massargia* is only 444 feet above the sea, and 141 feet above the tower.

In the neighbourhood are the remains of a paper manufactory, erected a few years since by the *Conte di Boyl*, with a laudable anxiety to encourage the natives in that trade; but after incurring a considerable outlay and keeping twenty-five hands in employ, it failed from a variety of causes, among which a heavy government duty, intemperie, and listlessness were insurmountable difficulties. Another instance of the ill success of *Sarde* undertakings may be seen in the ruins of an establishment, erected in 1825 at the end of the village, for smelting the minerals of the *Monteponi* mountain.

*Villa Iglesias*, or *Villecclesia*, the chief town of the province and diocese bearing that name, was so called

from the number of churches existing there in the middle ages ; and was also known as " Argentaria," from the silver which the Pisans obtained from the neighbouring mines. Its earlier history is very uncertain, but tradition states it to have been founded by malviventi and banditi.

The town, situated on the summit of the hills forming part of the Monte Marganai, and commanding the plain of Sigerro, is surrounded by walls with towers, built by the Pisans about the year 1322, on the intended invasion of the Aragonese. The castle stands to the east, on an eminence covering a considerable area ; and an inscription on the architrave of the doorway states its repair in 1325 by the Infante Don Alfonso, the son of Diego II., King of Aragon.

It is celebrated for its siege by that prince in 1323, who on arriving at Sulci with a fleet of 500 vessels and a large military force, was joined there by his ally, Ugone, the Giudice of Arborea ; and while the latter remained in guard of Palmas, he proceeded to attack Iglesias. The town, garrisoned by 200 cavalry and 1000 infantry, held out for six months against the superior Aragon forces, which, after two unsuccessful attacks, were obliged to wait the surrender of the castle by starvation. The Ecclesiensi, reduced to the greatest degree of misery and want, sent their aged, their women and children, outside the walls as prisoners to be spared ; but the besiegers sent them back again, and Don Alfonso then commenced an attack with moveable wooden towers. It was not, however till the year 1324 that the defenders, having consumed everything edible, even to the carcasses of decayed and putrid animals, surrendered ; and Alfonso, after staying a few days, left his wife there, and proceeded to Cagliari. Upwards

of 12,000 Aragonese died during this siege from sickness and the other contingencies of war.

That at a later period the Aragon dominion was acknowledged with much regard and fidelity by the Ecclesiensi, is evinced by the fact, that in 1449, Alfonso IV., compelled by straitened finances, sold the feudal rights of Iglesias to Doña Leonora Manrique, Contessa di Chirra, for the sum of about 2,170*l.* sterling; but the people unanimously rose and paid the sum required into the royal treasury, stipulating with the sovereign, by a document dated 1450, and now preserved in their archives, that it should be inalienable from the Aragon crown. From this circumstance the town assumed, and still bears in the quarterings of its arms, the Aragon baton as a memorial of loyal devotion, and a cylindrical piece of gold as emblematical of their self-purchased feudalism.

The earliest accounts of the town date from 1257, but it does not appear ever to have been extensive or populous, owing to various invasions and pestilences, and to the slaughter by the Marquis of Oristano, about the year 1472, of all the inhabitants, except those who saved themselves in the castle,—an annihilation from which it never recovered. In 1840, the population amounted to 5,534.

The filth of the town, despite some civic regulations, and the miasma from the surrounding lands, make a purgatory of this lovely spot, which might otherwise be worthy of its boasted title, a "*flori de mundu.*" But with so much unhealthiness, there is neither poorhouse nor hospital; and the educational wants are as little attended to, only 182 persons receiving instruction out of the whole population.

The costume varies but slightly from that in other

parts, the men wearing a large waistband, generally of silk, a blue double-breasted waistcoat, and the *mastrucca* or “*bestepedde*,” as they here call it. The “*damas*,” or women of the better classes, assume the continental dress ; the “*nostradas*,” or middling ranks, have a dark velvet or cloth bodice, with fringe and buttons, a scarlet petticoat, and a species of hood falling over the head and shoulders ; the whole covered by a white triangular shawl, with a colored border. The lower orders, the “*massage*,” are similarly dressed, except in the quality and darker color of the material

The men are said to be less ferocious and lawless than in other parts, and the women have an amiability and tenderness of disposition, with a soft brunette tint of complexion, which have acquired for them the name of “*maurette*,” a sobriquet to which they are not peculiarly entitled, as the Moorish cast is traceable in most of the southern parts of the island. Listless and indolent, the *Ecclesiensi* are yet passionately fond of amusement, the dance and song being the overture, *entre-acte*, and finale of all their meetings.

The fertility of the soil gives a greater abundance of every species of fruit and grain than can be consumed in the district, or carried away for sale ; and yet an extent of land, capable of supporting a population eight times its present amount, remains uncultivated. The glens and woods, of richest verdure and beauty, abound in nightingales, which are taken when young and sold at Cagliari, being considered a luxurious dish. The only buildings in Iglesias of any note, are the Bishop's Palace, and the Jesuits' College. The cathedral, originally a small church, built and dedicated to St. Chiara, has an inscription, narrating its foundation in 1285 ; but continued repairs have much altered

its original Pisan style. The date of the transfer of the bishopric of Sulcis to Trattalias, is uncertain ; but it was removed from the latter place to Iglesias in 1503 ; incorporated with the archbishopric of Cagliari in 1691 ; and in 1763 again became a separate see.

St. Antioco, who is said to have been banished in the reign of Adrian, and to have died in the year 125, is the reigning power of the province, and his supposed relics, found at Sulci in 1615, and festa in honor of them, are matters of the greatest importance. A skull believed to be his, and locked up in a silver vase, with the rest of his remains in an iron case, are most sacredly preserved ; and so fearful are the Ecclesiensi lest the precious morsels should be stolen, that the wards of the key are filed off and left inside the lock,—thereby so hampered, that no one can open it. A large coarse wooden image of his saintship,—very holy, but very horrid, together with the vase and case, are paraded by the cathedral dignitaries at the feste, which take place four times a year, and are similar to that of St. Priamo, described in the Ogliastro district. On arriving at a place called Barbusi, the whole multitude accompanying the procession, halts for the night, and their encampment often covers a square mile of ground. The numberless lights and fires, the variety of occupations of the people, engaged indiscriminately in prayer and pleasure, in devotion and dancing, in fasting and feasting, form a highly animated scene. Before day-break a mass and benediction are bestowed on the devotees ; on the ringing of the bell for their assembling, innumerable lights are seen moving towards the little church ; the low murmur of the thousands sinks gradually into the deepest silence while the service is performed ; and on its termination they proceed onwards in procession to

Sulci, in the church of which is the old tomb of the saint. Besides St. Antioco, a long catalogue of legendary martyrs, highly venerated in the province, and excuses for holidays and reunions, have a strong lien on the time and money of the Ecclesiensi. How satisfactorily might the thousands of lire, collected a few days previous to the celebration of these feste by the clergy for defraying the expenses, be employed in teaching the people the folly of these very acts !

The church establishment of Iglesias consists of the cathedral, with eighteen canons, twelve prebends, four beneficed and choral priests, and a large number more for nine churches in the town and five others close outside it. The ex-Jesuit church, and that of St. Francesco d'Assisi, are handsome ; but the confraternità, and three convents, with upwards of a hundred members, have no particular merit.

The earliest point of the ecclesiastical history of the province relates to a bishop of Sulcis who lived in 436, and the inscription over the tomb of St. Antioco, in that place, is dated 513.

To the south-west of Iglesias is the Monte Poni, about 1116 feet high, in which is an extensive lead mine ; and we may here take a general view of the minerals of the island. Though without any positive account in ancient history, there is sufficient evidence to prove them to have been well known and worked. A total silence exists as to their appreciation by the Phœnicians ; but it is not probable those spirited merchants would have neglected riches so near them, when those of Andalusia and Cornwall were objects of their enterprises. At a later period, the names of the ancient towns,—Metalla, Feraria, Feronia, Plumbea, Argentaria, and of various mountains, attest the Roman possession ;

and indications of their having worked them are still visible.

The province of Logudoro—interpreted by some as the Logu d'oro—the place of gold, may more probably have been derived from its possession by the Doria family.

Sidonius Apollinaris mentions, among the various tributes paid to Rome, the silver brought from Sardinia.

Solinus Polyhistor speaks of the richness of the ores.

The Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratianus prohibited agents and others engaged in mining from visiting Sardinia, lest they should become too affluent, or lest the great superiority of the mines should occasion a neglect of those in other provinces; and the laws, at a later period, relative to the finding and exporting gold, were very stringent.

No mention is made of the mines during the dominion of the Giudici, anterior to the Pisan and Genoese influence, beyond allusion to payments of silver; nor during the predominance of those republics is there any specific account.

In 1283, we find the Genoese capturing from their rivals an immense booty of the silver they had obtained here, and with which the expenses of building the dock-yards of their city were defrayed; and Zurita\* mentions the Pisan army returning to their country, in 1303, laden with silver.

The Spaniards neglected these supplies, attracted by the wealth of the New World; but Don Martin Carillo, in his official report to Filippo III. of Aragon, speaks of their value; and part of his observation applies equally in the present day in reference to the

\* Lib. v. ch. 6.

incapability of the Sardes to work their mines without foreign assistance. "Aora no se trabaja, per aver muerto los maestros di Viscaya que vinieron para esso."—"They are not worked now, because the directors from Biscay, who came for it, have died."

The Savoy dynasty, owing to its absurd laws and restrictions, has profited but little from this source of wealth. Mr. McGregor says on this subject:—"Sardinia possesses rich mines of silver, copper, lead, and iron; and which, if worked, would furnish one of the brightest items on the credit side of Sardinian commerce; but a mistaken policy closes the doors of those noble resources alike to government and to individual enterprise. A code of regulations for working the mines was published at Cagliari, 22nd October, 1834, which is a masterpiece of schoolboyism, of crude theory, and inexperience. Among thirty-one articles of this code of regulations, most of them more or less absurd and inimical to enterprise, there are some, obliging speculators to work their mines under the direction of a government engineer or other *employé* of the royal corps of miners, and who are also to be consulted and furnished with plans for the erection of smelting mills, &c. Speculators are also prohibited from exposing for sale, or exporting, the produce of their mines without permission from the intendant-general; and are, besides, to keep a journal of the daily produce of their mines,—the same to be exhibited in a separate statement monthly at the intendenza office of the capo luogo."

While searching among the archives of Cagliari, I found ninety-eight leases and documents relative to them. The earliest, dated 7th July, 1328, under Alfonso IV. of Aragon, offers very liberal terms to



the contractors ; and the last, dated 11th October, 1740, is the rental of the Iglesias and Domus Novas mines for thirty years on the following terms :—To pay the tenth of gold and silver, the fifteenth of copper, twentieth of iron, and twelfth of every cantar of galena or lead ore. A century—instead of giving 100 facilities, seems to have added 100 per cent. extortions and restrictions.

The endeavors recently made by different parties to effect a negotiation with the government, have failed, owing to these arbitrary demands, the inquisitorial interference, and capricious regulations ; in fact, a systematic illiberality of prohibiting others from benefiting by those advantages which they themselves, through their own ignorance, indolence, and timidity, are incapable of reaping. This may be tested by the circumstance that, notwithstanding the indigenous mineral wealth of the island, the total value of metals exported from 1827 to 1836 was only 5878*l.*, while that imported amounted to about 192,985*l.* It seems very uncertain whether gold has been found, though many statements assert the fact. Particles may have been met with in iron pyrites and sulphuret of lead, but never to any amount.

Native and muriate of silver are found in many spots, and quicksilver was discovered at Oristano about sixty years ago by the Marquis d'Arcais, who was making the foundation of a convent ; but as it was considered that the excavation might injure the buildings of the town, it was immediately filled up, and the convent built over it.

At Bari, silver pyrites gave 15 lbs. ; at Nuri, 10 lbs. ; and at Rio di Cani, 6 ozs. per quintal (about 220 lbs. English).

In 1841, gold and silver were imported, but none exported.

The lead mine of Monte Poni, the only one, and so badly worked by the government, that from 1832 to 1838 it has only produced to the value of 10,000*l.*, gives eighty per cent. of lead, and five-eighths ozs. of silver, per quintal. From 1827 to 1836, the exportation amounted in value to 3660*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, the importation to 73,376*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, and in 1841, 398½ tons were exported, and about 17¼ tons of worked lead imported.

The principal gallery of the Monte Poni, about 164 feet high and 656 feet long, is intersected by numberless transverse passages, all evidently worked from a very remote period.

The proportion of the ores in the different mineral districts varies very much; many of the mines giving seventy to eighty per cent of lead, with three to sixteen ounces of silver in the quintal.

Iron is not only abundant, but excellent. The ore of the Aredabba mountain was assayed, and gave fifty-four to sixty-one per cent., and superior in quality to that of Elba.

Numberless other mines, equally rich and richer, are unworked, and yet, according to La Marmora, Sardinia imports annually to the value of about 13,560*l.* In 1841, only six tons of old refuse iron were exported, paying a duty of 2*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, while 950 tons of wrought and worked iron were imported, the duty on which amounted to 1959*l.* 3*s.* 10¾*d.*

Copper, though much less abundant than iron, might be also a valuable article of commerce. It is found mostly as pyrites, with sulphurets of lead and silver. In 1841, about twenty-three tons of worked copper were imported, at a duty of 348*l.* 12*s.*, and about seven tons of old refuse exported, with a duty of

3 $\frac{1}{2}$ . 6s. Antimony and manganese are met with in many parts, but are scarcely noticed.

The localities and proportions in which the foregoing minerals exist, may be found in the reports made on the subject by Belli, Napion, De Vargas, Despines, Mameli, Mimaut, Angius, and La Marmora.

In conclusion, it may be said that nature has offered many valuable gifts, both in richness of ore and in the abundance of wood and water in the immediate vicinity of almost all the mines; but that intemperie, want of roads, native indolence, and legislative absurdities cause them to be rejected with indifference.

Iglesias is overhung by the bold and beautiful outline of the Montargia mountains, of which the Monte Marganai is about 3000 feet high; and further to the north rises the Monte Linas to the height of about 4078 feet. Flumini Majori, situated in a gorge surrounded by mountains, is irrigated by the stream from whence it takes its name, and so enriched and fertilised that the orange and lemon groves are said to be equally productive with those of Milis; and the proprietors even boast of their superiority in regard to the sweetness and thinness of the rind. The lemons are remarkable for their delicate alabaster clearness, and the citron constantly weighs eight or nine pounds. The grape is the only fruit of which there is not a superabundance. So warm is the temperature that the sugar-cane and coffee plant have been cultivated; the former with success, and the failure of the latter is not attributable to the soil or climate, but to the unskilfulness of the people.

The stream, after flowing through the rich and beautiful valley of St. Minda, and pursuing a course of fifteen miles from the mountains, empties itself into the sea at the Porto di St. Salvatore below Capo Pecora, and is

navigable for about a mile and a half from its mouth for vessels of small tonnage. The forests, chiefly of ilex, are very extensive ; the fir is found near the Monte St. Nicolo, on the shores of the river ; and the wild olive-trees, of which there are upwards of 100,000 in one small tract, only require grafting to become a source of wealth.

Every species of game abounds from the deer to the hare,—from the eagle to the partridge. Honey, if properly attended to, might be a considerable advantage, for in the province there are more than 400,000 hives, almost all of which are natural. With such varied productions, independently of the minerals, what a commerce might be carried on ! but the usual impediments stand in the way of any profit. The social condition of the people, separated by their natural position, like the Ogliastrini, from much intercourse with the rest of the island, and entirely excluded from that of the continent, is one of semi-barbarous superstition and ignorance ; and vendetta taking the place of law and justice, the lonely mountains are a secure asylum for the injured and injuring. Their ideas and explanation of a Noraghe in their district, called “ Lu corruzzu dessu Esteu,” “ The courtyard of the great beast” (which is the term they apply to the devil), are well applied ; for believing the building to be inhabited by the evil spirit, they seldom approach it ; and it is therefore reckoned a most courageous act on the part of a few individuals in the month of September, to seek among its ruins for a certain flower, whose virtues and miraculous effects are bestowed by this demon upon the heroic and fortunate finder. Their notions of the riches of the minerals are no less ludicrous ; making Potosi mere dross in comparison with the produce of Monte Arena and Monte

Argentu, in which they maintain that a vein with eighty per cent. of silver, and gold also, were found; but that by some supernatural opposition they could never be worked out!

Among the many caverns in the district, "La Grotta della Duchessa" is remarkable for a stream inside suddenly disappearing and rising again in two different places, one of which is close to the grotto of St. Giovanni di Domus Novas, and the other at Su Scioppadroggiu de Pubusinu. The fact is confirmed by the usual custom of throwing into it some light floating article, which being carried away, re-appears with the stream at one or other of those spots. The Grotta di St. Nicolo, of more superstitious than natural interest, is so called from a statue of that saint having been concealed there during the Saracenic invasions, to escape their sacrilegious attacks, and subsequently taken to Iglesias. The statue, however, preferring the lonely residence, suddenly disappeared, and returned without human assistance to his little shrine, which adjoins the grotto, and where one of the principal feste of the district is held in celebration of the event.

The ruins of Antas, situated in a forest of ilex, are one of the most interesting objects of the province; and, though the remains of a small temple and other confused masses of stones are all that exist, their position proves them to be the Metalla of Antonine. La Marmora, with the assistance of Cima, has given a full account of them and their dimensions, with a plan of the temple as restored, which he was enabled to do from the podium being clear, and many of the columns and capitals still lying about. The building is small, being only sixty-three feet long, and thirty and a-half feet wide; the order, Ionic, di-pro-

style, tetrastyle ; and its peculiar feature is the projection of the cella eleven and a-half feet wide into the portico beyond the antæ, a corridor five feet wide passing round three sides of it. The stylobate is large, with several flights of steps. It appears by the inscription on those parts of the frieze which have been collected and placed together, that the temple was dedicated to Marcus Aurelius or Antonine, or both, for the two names are perfect. The letters *STITUE*—evidently part of the word *RESTITUERUNT*—refer to its restoration ; and, were the remainder of the inscription arranged, the trees and shrubs which have grown among the ruins removed, and proper excavations made, a satisfactory history of the temple might without doubt be obtained. In shape and size it resembles that of Augustus and Roma at Pola in Istria, one of the most elegant specimens of temples I have seen ; and the difference between their admeasurement is so trivial, that, if a slight allowance were made for the difference of calculation, they would be found to be almost similar ; that of Pola being sixty-two feet long and thirty-one feet broad. The order of the former being Corinthian, is the principal point of dissimilarity between them.

The villages of Gonnos, Fanadiga, Arbus, and Guspini, require no notice, being of a similar character to those previously mentioned. To the north-west of them, on the shore of the Stagno di Marceddi, are the remains of the ancient Neapolis,—so confused and destroyed, that with the exception of the Roman aqueduct, they have little interest.

The island of S. Pietro, the Hieraconnesus of the Greeks, and Insula Accipitorum of the Romans,—both names derived from the quantity of hawks found there,—is proved to have been inhabited by colonies from

Rome and Carthage, by the coins, tombs, and other remains constantly discovered.

Captain Smyth mentions that while he was there, "a farmer passed his ploughshare over an amphora that proved to be full of Carthaginian brass coins, of which I purchased about 250: they were of the usual type,—obverse, the head of Ceros, and reverse, a horse or palm-tree, or both,—with only two exceptions; one a warrior's head with a singular helmet (apparently intended to represent leather), and the other, some ears of wheat. The chief peculiarity of this set was there being a Punic character between the horse's legs, which differed in every coin."

There is no record, however, of the decline and depopulation of the island, or of a resettlement till a late period; though it is known to have suffered severely from foreign incursions at different epochs. In 1737, the redundant Genoese population of Tabarca, an island off the north-east coast of Nubia, obtained permission from Carlo Emanuele III., King of Sardinia, to establish themselves at St. Pietro, where they founded the village of Carloforte; but, in 1743, Tabarca having been captured by the Tunisians, and a great number of the inhabitants taken into slavery, Carlo Emanuel ransomed them and established them in 1750 at Carloforte. In commemoration of the event, a large marble monument was erected in 1788 in the piazza by the shore, representing the King rescuing a man and woman with her child in chains; and two inscriptions on the base, refer to the foundation of the colony and release of the captives. On the invasion of the French in 1792, the village was burned by the natives to save it from the republican fury of the invaders; and after several engagements with alternate success and defeats on St.

Pietro, St. Antioco, and the shores of Sardinia, some Spanish vessels of war rendered a timely assistance, and the French were obliged to surrender. In 1798 the Tunisian pirates attacked, and, after treating the inhabitants with every species of cruelty, carried off nearly a thousand in captivity; and thus emboldened by their success, they made numberless other incursions till the year 1815, taking away with them on all occasions a large booty and many prisoners.

San Pietro is a mass of grey volcanic rock, abounding in porphyry, red jasper, and obsidian; and, with the exception of some fir trees used for making boats, and the fruit trees, which grow with much luxuriance, there is little vegetation. The Carolini, the inhabitants of Carloforte, amounted to 3355 in 1839; and, as an industrious money-getting race they do not belie their Genoese extraction. Their hospitality and generosity are not of the Sarde description; Lord Nelson found this difference when he ran into their anchorage ground in distress of weather in 1798; and, in a letter to Lady Nelson, dated May 24th, he thus mentions his reception:—"But it has pleased Almighty God to bring us into a safe port, where, although we were refused the rights of humanity, yet the Vanguard will in two days get to sea again." Clarke and M'Arthur, in their life of Lord Nelson, add the following observations on it—"This inhospitable reception which the squadron met with in the island of St. Peters, was afterwards explained to the Admiral in a letter from Mr. Jackson at Turin."

The tunny, coral, and other fisheries, net-making, stone-cutting in the quarries of Capo Rosso, the produce of which is sent to Cagliari, and the extraction of some minerals and earths used in dyeing, are the



principal occupations ; while from the rocky nature of the soil, but very few are employed in agriculture.

The Genoese dialect and costume are used ; a peacefulness and social order with a neatness and cleanliness in their houses and persons, form a strong contrast to their Sarde neighbours, whom they hold in contempt ; nor do they imitate them in, or adopt any of their amusements at their feste. It is said that no law-suit took place among them for ninety years ; a very credible fact, as Genoese cunning is by far too great to expend their little all in quarrelling about it. A favorite game is tying a cock down to a stake with a small tether, and pelting him by turns with stones at a certain distance.

The salt-marshes, though they might be a source of considerable profit to the government and employment to the Carolini, are in a neglected state and produce not more on the average than 10,000 metriche saline, or  $6662\frac{1}{2}$  tons, whereas treble the quantity might be obtained ; and the inferior quality of the salt to that of Cagliari is owing to mismanagement in the preparation.

By far the most important traffic is in the tunny fisheries along the shores, of which the Tonnare of Porto Paglia, Porto Scuso, Isola Piana, Cala Vinagra, Cala Sapone and Porto Pino were formerly all worked, though at present only the three first are used. Porto Scuso, belonging to the Duke di Pasqua is the best ; and that at Isola Piana, the property of the Marquis di Villamarina ranks next to it ; and though as many as 30,000 fish were taken annually in them, the quantity is now so much reduced from various causes that a thousand is about the average produce. The little island of Isola Piana about half a mile square,

is only remarkable for this fishery, which according to the proverb is considered the second best in Sardinia, "Scus 'e il re, e Piana la regina."

The Island of Sant' Antioco, on account of the lead mines of the district, was called by the Greeks Molybodes, and by the Romans Plumbea, but the Carthaginian name is unknown. The ancient town of Sulci, on which the modern village of St. Antioco stands, is situated on the eastern shore of St. Antioco, and gives its name to the south-west corner of Sardinia. The foundation has been attributed to both Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians; Claudian says the latter;\* however, according to Pomponius Mela,† it was the second most ancient city in Sardinia. Strabo calls it Sulchi, Ptolemy Solci, Pliny Sulci, and Pausanias Sylci. Münter, in his "Karthager," quoting Bochart, gives an Arabic definition of the word, as meaning "exposed to the south-west;" but this is hardly confirmed by what is supposed to have been the position. It stood on the isthmus connecting the island with the Sardinian coast, and, from the extensive remains, must have occupied a considerable area of ground, the largest side of which was towards the shore.

A quantity of gold, silver, and brass medals and coins, of Carthaginian and Roman date, besides statues and inscriptions, have been found; and the slightest excavation brings to light masonry and brickwork. Among the remains, in a part called Del Prato, are those of a low quadrangular building, the largest side forty-nine feet and a quarter long, and composed of four stones only; the smallest side twenty-nine feet and a half long, with only two stones about four feet deep and two and a quarter wide. An ancient construction, mis-

\* De Bello Gildonico, 618.

† Lib. ii. ch. 7.

named the Fontana Nuova, is thirty-three feet long on its greatest, and three and a half on its shortest side, and sixteen feet five inches deep; and near it, the large statue now standing in the vestibule of the University of Cagliari, as well as many others, was discovered. Another fountain, the "Is quattru Sollus," is said to have ancient subterranean aqueducts by which it was supplied with water. On the marina are some remains, called the Villa of Crastus, in which the following inscription was found, some time since, and taken to Sweden:—

TEMPLVM . ISIS . ET . SERAP  
CVM . SIGNIS . ET . ORNAM . ET . AREA  
OB . HONOREM . M . PORO . FELICIS.  
ET . IMPETRATI . F . IIIIV . A . P . E.  
M . PORO . M . F . PRIMI  
MAS . LAR . AVG . P.

This is evidently a dedication of a temple to Isis and Serapis; but no parts of it have as yet been either looked for or found.

In the hill overhanging the town are many caverns and sepulchres, serving as habitations for upwards of 500 people; but the date of their excavation is unknown; and at a spot called St. Alessandro, about a mile distant, as well as on the road towards Calaseta, are various ancient remains, of which, from their confusion, nothing is satisfactorily ascertained. The most considerable, however, are those of the three causeways connecting Sardinia with the Island of St. Antioco; one, built upon small arches, extends from the Sardinian shore to the little islet of Perdumanagus from whence is another to the second islet of Corno lungo; and the third, built on arches sufficiently large to admit the passage of boats, joins the latter to the shore of St.

Antioco. Though a pedestrian may pass over these causeways dryshod, they are in a sadly dilapidated condition. Near their termination and close to the ancient walls of the town are the ruins of the Castro, the walls of which, composed of large stones roughly worked, are about 10 feet thick, 775 feet long, 36 feet high, with towers at its sides and angles, and a gateway with an architrave about 13 feet long. Its foundation is unknown ; but, from the style, it may be attributed to the eighth or ninth century.

Calaseta, founded by some colonists from the island of Tabarca, in 1771, is merely a small fishing village ; and a round tower near the town is used as a state prison for political offenders. Two had been confined a long time, and were likely to remain there, for crimes which in other countries might be virtues and patriotism.

Scarcely any mention is made of Sulci, till in connection with the Romans ; when Caius Sulpicius, B.C. 259, renewed the war in Sardinia with such success, that he prepared to make a descent on Carthage. Hannibal, forewarned, made corresponding preparations ; and the two fleets would have come to an engagement had not a storm obliged them to seek shelter on the shores, the former off Teulada, and the latter off Cagliari. Sulpicius then adopted the ruse of pretending to start for the African shores ; and Hannibal, being thereby deceived, followed him with part of his fleet, and was suddenly attacked when off the promontory of Pula. Unprepared for an engagement, he was worsted, and escaped to join the rest of his ships at Teulada, which were subsequently blockaded, driven a shore, and captured ; and, on account of his defeat, he was crucified at Sulci by his own troops, a custom which was adopted by the Carthaginians, who attributed all good success

in war to their deities, and reverses to the mismanagement of their leaders. During the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey, the Sulcitani having sided with the latter, received Lucius Nasidius, one of his generals, with high honors, and furnished him with all the necessities for his expedition to relieve Marsilia, which was then besieged by Cæsar. They had reason, however, to repent of their partisanship, for Cæsar, on his arrival at Cagliari, proceeded to punish them, mulcted them in the sum of 100,000 sesterces, compelled them to provide an eighth instead of a tenth of all their grain, and confiscated the property of the principal citizens. These exactions did not, however, check the prosperity of the city, for an inscription has been found among the ruins, proving Sulci to have enjoyed the same privileges as Cagliari, and that the population were admitted to the rank of Roman citizens.

L . CORNELIO , Q . VIR . MARCELLO  
 L . CORNELI . LAVRI . PATRI . IIIIVIR . IIIIVIR  
 DIC . FLAM . AUG . II . PONTIFICI . SACRORUM  
 PVBLICORUM . FACIENDORUM . PATRONO . MVNI  
 CIPI . D . D . COOPTATO . ET . ADLECTO . IN  
 QVINQVE DECVRIAS ET . INTER . SACER  
 DOTES . PROV . SARD . OB . MERITA . EIVS  
 IN . REP . SVLCITANI . EX . TE  
 STAMENTO . . . . .

It may be presumed to have suffered from the various incursions of the Vandals, for Procopius states that on the subjection of Africa by Belisarius, some thousands of Moors were expelled and sent to Sardinia ; and we may believe they settled in these parts, which are called Maureddia, as Maureddus is the Sarde word for Moors ; and though the Saracens do not appear to have thoroughly established themselves, yet the name of

Marroccu, another district of the Sulci territory, bespeaks its origin.

Occasional allusions are made to the place from the eighth to the twelfth centuries ; but at what subsequent period it ceased to be inhabited is unknown ; and a similar want of information exists as to when the various villages and populations which existed throughout the neighbourhood became extinct. The Gherardesca family possessed the territory till 1254, when it shortly afterwards passed to the Pisan Republic ; and from 1330 to 1422, though subjected to all the changes and wars between the Aragonese and the Giudici of Arborea, it received, during the dominion of the former, considerable advantages and privileges.

In the dearth of any important events, from that to the present time the removal of the remains of St. Antioco from Sulci to Iglesias in 1615 forms a conspicuous part of their annals. The discovery and immediate worship of his bones caused a religious epidemic in the whole province ; and certainly the disease has regularly descended to the present generation. The cortège of the saint at the above mentioned period, consisting of 4125 of the most important personages, 7000 covered and uncovered cars, 150 vessels and 32,000 pedestrians, assembled at Sulci, and proceeded from thence in procession to Iglesias, where on their arrival 800 masses were to have been offered up in one day, but the 2383 priests were unable for want of time and altars to perform that ceremony. But upwards of 12,000 people confessed to them, and 5800 scudi, or 22277. 4s., were collected on that day for defraying these ecclesiastical expenses, independently of those of the festa.

In 1815 upwards of 200 inhabitants including the

commandant's daughter were carried into slavery by the Tunisians.

The island of St. Antioco is of the same geological formation as that of St. Pietro; and the habits, customs, and pursuits of the population are similar to those of the sister islanders, though less employed in the fisheries and maritime pursuits, as the greater fertility of soil gives them some agricultural occupations.

The abundance of the "strufugii" or dwarf palm, is a source of livelihood; the leaves being made into brushes, the fibres into tunny nets called "stroppi," and the pulp used as a vegetable in the same manner as at Alghero. A favorite amusement is catching the wild pigeons, which abound in the caverns of the rocky shores. In calm weather parties make excursions thither, and having entered and closed up the entrance with a large net, they light their torches and discharge a gun, which so affrights this timid race of birds that they fly about and dash themselves against the sides of the cavern till they fall senseless on the water, and the quantity collected is almost incredible. A race of wild horses which had from time immemorial fed and propagated in the Canai valley and other parts, existed till lately, but is now extinct.

The old Roman roads as given by Ptolemy and Antonine passed from Sulci northwards through Pubulum, the modern Massacara, to Neapolis; and between them another turned off to Decimo Mannu. A southern road skirted the whole of the coast down to Tegula near Cape Teulada, then by Bitia and Nora,—the modern Pula, to Cagliari; but the other villages mentioned by those geographers are less easily determined. It was not till the end of the last century that the Sulcitani made their first step towards civilisation, for up to that

period the agriculturists left their villages at seed and harvest time, and having finished their short labors returned home to a life of comparative idleness. The shepherds attending to their flocks only when the milking season required their presence, left them in the care of a few individuals, who were reduced by their lonely existence to a state little above the animals they were guarding; and the disputes and encroachments on each other's grounds, the system of robbery and consequent vendetta embroiling all parties, aggravated the degradation of their condition.

The first measure adopted was the establishment of the agricultural and pastoral laborers on the spots they temporarily cultivated, in little huts and sheds called "Furriadorgius" or shelters, and their wives and families being soon induced to join them the little colony was called a "boddèus."

"Campestres melius Scythæ  
Quorum plaustra vagas ritè trahunt domos,  
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ  
Immetata quibus jugera liberas  
Fruges et cererem ferunt."\*

Such was and is the state of the rural population, such the habits of the Maureddus of the south-western corner of Sardinia, who, in their physical conformation, morals, love of ease and pleasure, fierceness in wrath, fervor of imagination, generosity and hospitality, indicate their mixed blood,—the "a Poenis admixto Afrorum genere Sardi" of Cicero. Their language, though Sarde, is a dialect peculiar to themselves; and many of their expressions as well as customs may be traced to an Arabic origin. Superstition is as rife, with

\* Horace, lib. iii. ode 24.



all its absurdities, as in the other provinces. The custom of concealing their treasures still exists, though not through the fear which the previous generation had of the Moorish attacks and plunder; and the Maureddu will hide his money in cavities of the rocks and trees, and in holes of the ground, till his dying hour, without revealing the secret. It constantly happens that even then no such disclosure takes place, and these concealments encourage the no less prevalent custom of treasure-hunting.

Fishing and the chase are great sources of pleasure and profit; and besides the usual mode of poisoning the fish, they are caught with a pronged fork by torch-light, much in our manner of salmon spearing.

Trattalias, a miserable village, is only remarkable for having once been the see of the diocese. The present parochial church, then the cathedral, was founded in 1213, and is a small but handsome building, about eighty-six feet long by fifty-seven wide.

Palmas consists of a few hovels, with the remains of an old castle and other buildings. At the mouth of the river Iscagessa, the ancient Debotes, are vestiges of the old town which is assumed to have been destroyed by the Saracens. It gave its name to the Gulf, which is six miles wide at its entrance to the south, and offers safe and commodious anchorage to vessels of any size. Lord Nelson, in a letter to Sir T. Trowbridge, dated December 21, 1805, speaks of it thus:—"After the gale of wind, we got into the Gulf of Palmas, which is without exception the finest roadstead I ever saw," &c. Captain Smyth speaks of it also in high terms:—"The Gulf of Palmas is of remarkably easy access, with capital anchorage all over it, but especially in seven or eight fathoms on the western side; and the country

around affords provision and refreshments for any number of ships."

Teulada is of the same character as Palmas, but its inhabitants are scattered about in the neighbouring boddèus. The cape which bears its name, the Kersonesus of Ptolemy, is the most southerly point of Sardinia, forming a precipitous headland 900 feet above the sea. To the north of the village is a range of mountains, the principal summit of which, the Punta Severa, is about 3232 feet high. Nothing can exceed the savage wildness of the whole scene, save the people, who are in harmony with it. The spot known as St. Isidoro de Teulada is proved to be the ancient Bitia, by the Roman ruins and inscriptions found there.

Between Capo Malfatano and Capo Spartivento is a harbour, recognised by some geographers as the Portus Herculis; and on an elevation of upwards of 1000 feet is a large Noraghe, called, from the magnitude of the stones, the Giant's Tower. Captain Smyth alludes to it merely as "some Cyclopean vestiges."

The whole Sulcitano country abounds in Noraghe, among which the "Monte Maria," in the Teulada district, is remarkable for its position on the summit of a granite rock, of which the large rough prismatic masses form the natural base of the building; but its dilapidated state,—having been destroyed, according to the legend, by lightning,—prevents both the external and internal forms and arrangements being satisfactorily defined.

The Noraghe, "Sa Perdaja," about two hours distant from the preceding, is similarly situated, but differs from others in its external shape, for, instead of the usual circular form and talus, it presents, on the southern side, a straight perpendicular wall forty-six

feet long, and the scattered remains on the northern side indicate a corresponding line. A passage, nineteen and a half feet long, leads to the centre domed chamber.

Another Noraghe, called "Aniu," between Teulada and St. Antioco, has a corridor about fifty-six feet long; the interior chamber to which it leads is about sixteen feet four inches in diameter, with three recesses in the wall about five feet long, two feet wide, and two feet eight inches deep. The outer entrance stands a few degrees to the westward of south,—one of the few exceptions to their general position of south and south-east.

Pula, a delicious spot on the western coast of the Gulf of Cagliari, embedded in orange-groves, orchards, and crowned with palms, reminds the traveller of Bordighera and other villages on the Ligurian shore. It contains about 1400 inhabitants, and the character for unhealthiness has been much changed within the last few years by drainage.

Nelson, it appears, held a favorable opinion of the place, for he says, in one of his letters to the consul, Magnon, "I can assure you that we have found Pula the most healthy place the fleet has ever been in. So far from a man being ill from the thousands who went on shore, they have all derived the greatest benefit from the salubrity of the air brought down by that fine river."

The neighbouring mountains produced lead and silver ores (though now not worked), in the proportion of seventy-three per cent. of the former, and two oz. five dr. of the latter per quintal.

At the extremity of the promontory is a miserable church, the sanctuary of a St. Efisio, and the grand resort of the credulous population of the south of the island.

In the immediate vicinity, and on part of the present village of Pula, stood Nora, a town of great antiquity, and rendered interesting by the mystery of its foundation.

Pausanias\* states, that Sardus, the son of Maceris, the Theban Hercules, led a Libyan colony into Sardinia; that the island was called after his name; that Nora, the first town built, was founded by Norax, the chief of an Iberian colony, which is supposed by some modern antiquaries to have been a Pelasgic migration from Etruria to Iberia, and from thence to Sardinia. Pliny† speaks of the Noresi as some of the most celebrated of the people. Solinus Polyhistor‡ says:—"It does not signify, therefore, that Sardus was sprung from Hercules, and Norax, from Mercury; that one from Lybia and the other from Tartessus, in Spain, should have passed over to these parts; that the name was given to the country by Sardus, and to the town of Nora from Norax."

Other ancient and modern historians and geographers entertain a different opinion; and we may now see how far the question is elucidated by an inscription on a block of sandstone, four feet long and two feet wide, found at Pula, in 1774. It was discovered in a wall of the monastery Della Mercede di Cagliari; placed there by parties who, perfectly ignorant of its value, had used it as an ordinary building stone, and from thence it was taken to the Museum at Cagliari, where it now remains. To the Phœnician and Hebrew scholar this sepulchral monument,—for such it is supposed to be,—is an object of some value, as an elucidation of the early history of Sardinia, though not sufficiently clear

\* Lib. x. ch. 17    † Nat. Hist. lib. iii. ch. 13.    ‡ Ch. x.

and definite to decide the “*vexata quæstio* ;” and as a matter of general interest, it is needless to enter into the discussions of the various authors from whose works the following deductions are made.

The Padre Hintz, professor of oriental languages at Cagliari, the first discoverer of the stone, sent a drawing of it to the celebrated antiquary De Rossi, who published an account and explanation in the “*Effemeridi letterarie di Roma* ;” \* but the original drawing was very incorrect, and the interpretation consequently erroneous.

The Abbé Arri then undertook the task, and published a small treatise at Turin, in 1834, entitled “*Lapide Fenicia di Nora in Sardegna*,” which had also appeared in the “*Memorie della Accademia Reale di Torino*.” † Gesenius next applied his Phœnician lore and knowledge to the subject, and entered fully into it in his “*Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta quot—quot supersunt*.” ‡ Benaryus followed him in the research, and gave his observations on it in the “*Jahrbücher für Wissenschaftliche Kritik*, July 1837.” In 1838, Arri replied to the disquisitions of Gesenius and Benaryus, in an article in the “*Memorie della Accademia Reale di Torino*.” §

La Marmora lastly availed himself of the joint erudition of these authors in a condensed form ; and it is to him that Gesenius is indebted for the exact cast and copy of the original inscription which is here presented, and differs widely from that taken by Hintz and sent to Arri.

\* P. 348, anno 1774.

† Vol. xxxviii. p. 59.

‡ Leipzig, 1837, p. 154, and plate No. 41, Table 13.

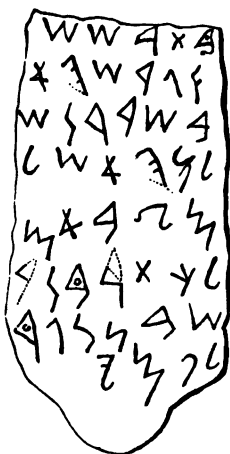
§ Vol. i. p. 351, Second Series.

The following are the different translations in Latin, and for the Hebrew version, the reader is referred to the works of the authors.

Arri makes it to be,—“In Tarschisch vela dedit pater Sardon pius, vix tandem finem attingens (lapidem) scribi jussit in Norâ, quam novit Lixo (Mauritanie urbi) adversam.”

Gesenius deciphers it thus :—  
“Domus capitis (i. e. dormitorium) principis qui (erat) pater Sardorum. Pacis amans ille, pax contingat regno nostro. Ben-Rosch, filius Nagidi L-ensis.”

Benaryus discovers the sense to be :—“Tartessi expulsus hic in Sardis incolumis ingrediatur regnum nostrum, sive pauper sit, sive princeps, jussu meo ;” and even gives a second interpretation to it, thus :—“Tartessi expulsus hic, in Sardis pacificus hic ; pax veniat super Melchiten filium Rosch, filii Naghid Lasnitenum.”



PHœNICIAN INSCRIPTION  
FOUND AT PULA.

It will be seen by the great discrepancy between these translations, how the learned Phœnician scholars differ. Arri makes out the words Tarschisch, Pater Sardon, and Nora ; Gesenius finds Pater Sardorum ; and Benaryus discovers Tartessus and Sardis.

A disquisition on any of the letters in this inscription would involve the intricacies of the Phœnician language ; but the result of the endeavors of these scholars and antiquaries to reconcile the apparently contradictory statements, is, as La Marmora has observed,

that the inscription announces the departure of Sardus Pater from Tarsis, Tarschisch, or Tartessus,—a town on the Libyan coast; his arrival at Nora, where he founded a town of that name; that an existence has been attributed to two individuals, while, in fact, there was only one; and that Norax is the identical Sardus Pater of Libyan-Phœnician origin. Nora was, according to Pausanias,\* the first town that was built in Sardinia; but he also states it to have been founded by the Iberians, under Norax; and this immediately embraces the question of their Pelasgic origin, and whether it was the Iberian or Libyan Tartessus.

Considering the confusion of all these statements, the general deduction least incompatible with the different versions, is, that a "Sardus" arriving from Tarschisch, Tartessus, or Tarsus, in Libya, founded a town in Sardinia; that he was called by the colonists and inhabitants by the generic title of "Norax," leader or chief; that from this circumstance the name of the town, Nora, had its origin, and that the term Norax was by the Latins interpreted "Pater." Pausanias† affirms that Sardus was held in the highest veneration in Sardinia, and that a bronze statue sent from thence to the Oracle at Delphi was in existence in his time. Of the only two ancient coins known to have been struck in the island, one refers to him, and has on the face the head and name of "M. Atius Balbus," with the head and name of "Sardus Pater," on the reverse.‡

Ptolemy speaks of a temple, the "Sardopatoris Fanum," in the western part of the island, as dedicated to him. These are the principal notices in the un-

\* Lib. x. ch. 17.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Vide* Gronovius, *Thesaur. Græc. Antiq.* vol. i. tab. LLLL, and Morelli *Thesaur. Numism.*, vol. i. p. 37.

certain and fabulous period of Sarde history concerning their ancient hero, founder, and father.

Among the other ancient remains of Nora, a Roman aqueduct, the date of whose construction is unknown, passes through a very dilapidated Noraghe called "Guardia is Moncias," and from this circumstance may be assumed to have been in ruins even in the days of the Romans. The vestiges of the mole, some baths, fortifications and other works made of the porphyritic stone of the district, are so confused that no satisfactory plan has been made of them.

Those of the theatre near the shore, derive their modern name of Leoniera, from the Sarde belief that lion combats took place there; and Valery falling into this error, calls it an amphitheatre.\* The greater part of it is in ruins, except the seats, which are nearly perfect. Nora, from being scarcely mentioned in Roman history, could at that period have been of no importance; and there is only a slight allusion to it by Cicero in his defence Pro Scauro, when speaking of the death of one Bostar, a citizen of Nora, a name evidently of Carthaginian origin. Some Roman milestones found in the vicinity and referring to the repairs of the roads between this and other towns then in existence, are now in the museum at Cagliari.

From Pula, the path to Cagliari passes through a beautiful and highly fertile country, the villages of San Pietro, Sarroe, and Orri forming a painful contrast to the charms of nature. Orri, the only one where the hand of man has not contemptuously neglected her bounty, belongs to the Marquis di Villahermosa, who has instituted a model farm as an appendage to his villa, and has already reaped the reward for his spirited and

\* Vol. ii. p. 44.



patriotic labors. The Sardes now see orange, olive, almond and mulberry trees enriching their formerly barren shores, the fir tree thriving in the soil and climate of the indigenous palm, the vineyards producing fruit of the finest description, and alterations in the agricultural system followed by the most satisfactory and profitable results. In one of the vineyards belonging to the Marquis was discovered last year a Roman milestone with the following inscription, as yet unpublished.

## XI.

IMP . CAES . M . IVLIVS .  
 PHILIPPVS . PIVS . FELIX  
 AVG . PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT .  
 COS . III . P . P . PROCOSVL .  
 IMP . CAES . M . IVL PHI  
 LIPPVS . PIVS . FELIX . AVG  
 FILIVS . DOM . NOSTRI . AVG  
 PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT . V  
 COS . II . P . P . PROCOSVL . VIAM  
 QVAE . DVCIT . A . NORA . KA  
 RALIBVS . VETVSTATE . COR  
 RVPTAM . RESTITVERVNT  
 CVRANTE . . . . .  
 . . . . PRÎC . SVO . E . V .

Proceeding northwards from this regenerated spot, a bank extending a considerable distance on the sandy shore, abounds with the *Zostera Marina*, a plant known for its property of detaining mud, sand, and other deposits, and forming with them an amalgam which in process of time becomes a shoal. We now approach the sea-bank of the Stagno, a lagune adjoining Cagliari.

## CHAPTER III.

**Cagliari Province.**—Greater Civilisation.—Moral and Physical Character. — Ancient and Modern History.— Foundation.— Arms of Sardinia. — Position and Description of the City.— The Castello, Gates, Towers, and Armorial Bearings.—Divisions and Suburbs.—The Marina, Stampace, Villanova, Bonaria, and Gilla.—Castle of San Michele.—Public Walks of the Polveria, Casino, San Lorenzo, and Terrace of the Castello.—The Stagni.—Wild Birds.—The Flamingo.—Churches.—Cathedral Establishment. — St. Clement. — Altars, Pictures, Tombs, Relics. — Interpretation of Letters. — Churches of San Pietro, Vergine del Carmine, San Lucifero, and St. Agostino. — His Remains.—Oratory miraculously built by him.—Pictures.—Church of St. Efisio. — Ceremonies, Relics, Miracles. — San Domenico.—List of Monasteries and Convents.—Ecclesiastical Statistics. — Franciscan and Capucin Monastery. — Jesuits' College. — Bonaria Monastery. — Our Lady of Bonaria.—Miraculous Image.—Rival Madonna del Miracolo.—Piazza.—San Carlo.—Strada San Michele.—Corso and the Pareggia.—Streets.—Waggons and Oxen.—Municipal Palace.—Charles V.'s Visit.—Robertson's mention of it, and of the Slaves released in the Emperor's Expedition.—The Viceroy's Palace.—Fire and Causes of it.—The Arsenal Statue of Carlo Felice.—Inappropriate Costume.—Anecdote.—The Barracks.—Military Force of the Island.—The different Corps, their Organisation and Duties.—The San Lucifero, and Conservatorio della Provvidenza, the Male and Female Orphan Asylums.—Foundling Asylum.—The Spedale Civico.—The Viceroy's Inspection of the Sheets.—The San Pancrazio and Military Hospitals.—Public and Private Charitable Funds and Institutions.—The Poor.—The Public Cemetery.

· **FROM** the historical notices of the other departments.

few circumstances remain to be mentioned as peculiarly belonging either to the Capo di Cagliari, or to the city itself. The province,—bounded by the Isili, Sulci, and Ogliastro districts on the north, west, and east, and by the sea to the south,—is computed at about 1100 miglie quadrate, or about 2588 square miles, one half of which is mountainous, and the other composed of extensive levels, or slightly undulating plains,—the best cultivated in all the island. The extreme dryness of the soil admits of little verdure; and the forests are so much smaller and less luxuriant than in other parts that, except in the mountainous districts, wood is scarce and dear; and the peasants are frequently obliged to have recourse to grass, herbs, and dried manure of cattle, for fuel. From the extensive cultivation of arable land, and the absence of those passions which characterise the mountain shepherds, crime, especially vendetta, is less common; and the population, naturally of a milder cast, is improved by the civilisation and intercourse of which some of the other provinces have been debarred.

But education is as much neglected as elsewhere; for, according to the census of the year 1834 (the latest then published), the province is stated to have contained 99,489 souls, and that it was very doubtful if 1000 children in the whole population received any schooling. It proceeds to say, “Perciò di questi provinciali (salvo i cittadini) appena 2500 persone saranno che sappian leggere, e di questi non più di due terze che possano servirsi della penna nelle loro facende.” “The result is, that of the population of the province, with the exception of the Cagliari townspeople, scarcely 2500 can read; and of these, not more than two-thirds can use the pen in their affairs.” This would be

nearly one per cent. receiving instruction, about one in every forty who can read, and nearly one in sixty who can write ; but, in mentioning these statistical points to a friend in Cagliari, whose knowledge in these matters was extensive from his experience and situation, he assured me that in the present day the amount of educated people is even much less in proportion to the increased population.

The inactive listless disposition of the people,—even more remarkable than in the other provinces,—with a less degree of sharpness and animation, may be accounted for by the climate and the grafts of African and Spanish blood ; and there are no manufactures or trades of any kind, beyond the mere necessities of life.

A villager will eat a leaf of the cactus, independently of the fruit, when the ground on which it grows and on which he stands is rich, and only requires the plough and a handful of seed to produce him a loaf of bread ; and though I have witnessed the same thing in Sicily, the crude vegetable was there eaten from necessity, and not from indolence or any of the paltry excuses put forward by the Sardes.

The houses in the villages are neater and cleaner than those in the north, the greater part of them having a little court and a gallery on the outside of the house, called “*su staulu*,” or “*ambiagula*,” resembling those in the countries from whence they took their Moorish origin.

In their sanitary condition, the people are as unfortunate as the rest of the islanders ; but they are temperate, quiet, and chaste : their chief diet consists of bread, fruit, and fish, meat being less used and more expensive than in the other parts, where the climate requires more nutritious aliment.

As a race they are short, thick-set, and swarthy, and

shew the effects of their southern and sultry sun. Marriages take place at an early age ; girls of thirteen and fourteen arrive at the honors of maternity, as in other countries of the same latitude ; and an instance is said to be well authenticated of a girl having arrived at womanhood in Pula at the age of seven, and several others at ten and eleven ; but they are, of course, exceptions amounting to phenomena.

The period of the foundation of the city of Cagliari has been variously attributed to the colonies under Iolaus, Sardus, and Aristæus. The expression of Diodorus Siculus, \* “ Iolaus having made himself master of the island, built there many famous cities,” has been supposed to refer to Cagliari ; and this origin has likewise been supported by an ancient inscription found there, mentioned by Bonfant and Cossu, † on which were the words Civitas Iola ; but the first of these assumptions is too vague—the latter only proves the Roman epoch of a monument ; and finally, the cities of Nora, Sulcis, Olbia, and Pula, are positively mentioned as existing at certain periods, whereas Cagliari does not appear by name or description as contemporaneous with them.

Pausanias ‡ states that “ the Carthaginians built in this island the cities Karnalis (Calaris) and Sulci. Claudian § speaks of it as “ a city founded by the powerful Tyrian ;” and Pomponius Mela || says, “ In the island the most ancient cities are Caralis and Sulci.”

In support of this Carthaginian origin, an ancient coin ¶ has, on the obverse, the fore half of a horse,

\* Lib. v. ch. 15.

† Notizie di Cagliari, p. 25.

‡ Lib. x. ch. 17.

§ “ De bello Gildonico,” v. 520.

|| Lib. ii. ch. 7.

¶ Vide Frolick’s “Notit. Element. Numism.” ch. 6 ; Har-

with the word *Καράλιταν* around it, and a vase on the reverse ; and that the horse's head was the Carthaginian emblem is well known.\*

Mameli, in his notes on the Carta di Logu,† makes the Sarde word Calarina, or Calavrina, a horse, to be derived from the same Greek word—a fanciful etymological connection ; but the Greek characters decide against a Carthaginian coinage, though if Kalaris was originally inhabited by a Greek colony, and subsequently conquered by the Carthaginians, the latter may have stamped the coin as emblematical of their dominion over the conquered inhabitants. Manno and other authorities consider it, however, to be of Æolian origin. The name Caralis has been with more probability derived from the Phœnician word *Carīrin* or *Carīra*, signifying shelter or refreshment, which, as a seaport, it might have afforded to that nation on their voyages.

After the invasion of Sardinia by the Carthaginians, and their defeat under Machæus, the war was renewed by Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, the sons of Mago, the former of whom perished in battle, but the latter was victorious over the Sardes, and established colonies in Cagliari and Sulci ; events which Manno dates at 494 and 490 B. C.

During the Roman and Punic wars, the town was constantly mixed up with, though not the positive scene of the conflicts. L. C. Scipio, after his victory at Olbia, B. C. 259, proceeded to devastate the island, and it is supposed that he reduced Cagliari ; but there

douin's "*Nummi Antiq. Popul. et Urb.*;" Goltzius's "*Græciæ ejusque Insular. Numis.*" tab. 28, num. 21 ; Gesner's "*Numis. reg. Maced.*" tab. 28, num. 21, sect. 2.

\* *Vide* Virgil, *Æneid*, i. 442.

† Note 152, p. 104.

is some discrepancy and confusion in the text of the the historian relative to the name of the city.\*

Pliny mentions its possessing the privileges of a Roman municipality, but the period of its admission to that rank is unknown. We may pass over the few unimportant events that occurred, till the year 455 A. D., when, according to Manno, though by Gibbon's dates it would be a few years later, the capital fell into the hands of Genseric; but though subsequently recovered by the Emperor Leo, the Vandals, under Hunneric the son of Genseric, obtained possession of it in 477.

In 533, Justinian partially succeeded in overthrowing the dominion of Gelimer, the Vandal king of Sardinia, till his brother Zazone arrived with a fleet of 120 ships and 500 men, and recovered the town; but in the next year the imperial forces embarked on the shores, and the Cagliaritani having beheaded Zazone and opened their gates to them, the island again became a Roman dependency.

In 551, the Goths under Totila seized the city, but on his defeat in 553 at Tagina by Narses, it relapsed once more to the Roman dominion; and from 650 to the beginning of the eleventh century it was the constant prey of the Saracens.

Musetto, their chief, after obtaining possession of the city in 1003, held it till 1016, when the Pisans, assisted by Benedict VIII., succeeded in expelling him; but he regained possession in 1021, and in the continued contests with him from that period till the middle of the century, the Pisan, Papal, and Genoese allies tacitly endeavored to obtain, each for its own interest, a supremacy over the Sardes, while ostensibly defending them against their common enemy.

\* *Vide* Florus, lib. ii. ch. 2.

The city thus became subjected to the rival claims of the three competitors ; none worthy of especial mention till the year 1217, when the Pisans built the Castle of Cagliari, the site being ceded to them by the Giudicessa Benedetta.

The Giudice form of government terminating in 1258, the Pisans established and continued one similar to that of their own republic till 1289, when the Genoese obtained from them the cession of the Castello ; but in 1299 Sassari was given to them, and the Castello restored to the Pisans.

In 1323, the Aragonese having taken part with Ugone III., Giudice of Arborea, in his wars against the Pisans who had invaded his dominions, Don Alfonso landed his army in the Gulf of Palmas, and the Admiral Francesco Carroz arrived with his fleet, consisting of seventy galleys, twenty-four transports, and 216 other vessels, off Cagliari, where he disembarked 300 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. Alfonso, after his victory at Iglesias, advanced in 1324 with the rest of his army to besiege the capital, to which the Pisans in the meanwhile had sent a reinforcement of 600 men and fifty-two galleys. In the battle which ensued, he shewed such courage and spirit that the victory was mainly attributable to him ; for the royal standard having been taken in a close engagement with the enemy, he rushed forward into the ranks, and, mindful of his father's parting injunction given to him in the face of his troops, "*Vittoria o Muerte*," personally regained his standard, and fought over it as it lay at his feet, till he was rescued by his own forces. This and other acts of bravery turned the balance of the contest in his favor ; and after a great slaughter on both sides, the Pisans and their allies were entirely routed, and the Infante,



though severely wounded, carried back in his own hands the standard to his camp at Bonaria. He immediately commenced laying the foundation of a castle and town on that spot, and took the first steps towards besieging the Castello ; but the Pisans, finding their supplies cut off, their skirmishes with the Aragonese unsuccessful, and failing in their attempts to intercept the Infanta Doña Teresa on her way from Villa Iglesias to join her husband Don Alfonso, entered into a capitulation with the besiegers, by which they were allowed to retain and inhabit their possessions in the island, together with the Castello and suburbs of Stampace and Villanova, at Cagliari ; holding them as feuds subject to the Aragon crown, and paying an annual tribute in recognition of that tenure. The Aragon standard then waved for the first time in 1324 over the battlements of the Castello ; within half a year the Bonaria fortification was finished, a colony of 6000 soldiers established in the new town, and Alfonso, having rewarded his military chiefs with different feudal possessions, returned to Barcelona.

The complaints and dissensions of the Pisans having broken out in the course of the ensuing year, 1325, into open hostilities, the Aragonese took possession of the Stampace suburb ; and on the 9th of June, 1326, the Castello was formally evacuated by the Pisans, and possession of the whole of Cagliari was thus definitely secured to the crown.

From this period, 1327, dates the Aragon dominion, the earliest acts of which were the introduction of a government similar to that of Barcelona, with the same privileges and immunities, and the administration of affairs appears to have been exercised with great moderation and benefit to the Cagliaritani.

The Genoese made ineffectual endeavors in the years 1330 and 1332 to possess the city, and in 1355 Pedro IV. visited Cagliari, and held the first national parliament.

In 1409, Don Martino arrived here with his armament, and proceeded to oppose the Visconte di Narbona at Sanluri, but nothing important occurred during the reign of Ferdinand of Castile and Aragon.

Alfonso V. on his return from his Corsican expedition in 1421, met the assembled Stamenti in person, and with a punctilious regard to their laws, institutions, and demands, conceded great privileges to the inhabitants.

During the reign of Juan II. the Marquis di Oristano defeated the Viceroy Carroz with great slaughter, at Uras, in 1470, and this success encouraging the rebellious Sarde faction, then hostile to the Aragon dominion, Artaldo and Ludovico di Alagon, the son of the Marquis di Oristano, attacked and got possession in 1475 and 1476 of the port and town and castle of Cagliari.

The inhabitants suffered, in addition to the usual miseries of war and famine, those of the plague; but the Viceroy, having obtained an armament and supplies, defeated the insurgents in 1478.

With the exception of the visit of Charles V. in 1535, in his expedition to Tunis, but few events occurred of any interest till the war of the Spanish succession, when England, advocating the Austrian claims, endeavored to gain the Sardes to renounce their allegiance to Philip V.; and in 1701 and 1703, her fleets, under Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, visited these coasts for that purpose.

In 1708, Admiral Leake, with forty ships, anchored off Cagliari, and entering into a negotiation with the Viceroy, the Marquis de Giamaica, embarked a land

force, small in comparison to the number of ships ; for, according to Manno, there was only one regiment of soldiers, “accoglitici condotti affrettamente in Barcellona.” \*

The Sarde narration of the events states that a portion of the Cagliaritani was inclined to the Austrian party, and that there was not sufficient military force to make use of the ample means with which the city was provided, to resist the invaders ; but this reason for the immediate capitulation which took place does not appear very satisfactory in juxtaposition with the further remark of Manno in reference to the enemy,† “E così in una capitale ben munita e riboccante di vittuaglie veniva meno ogni speranza di salvezza, appetto a poche centurie di soldati ragunatici, perchè mancava chi comandasse la difesa.” Their submission, therefore, to the “confused collection of a few hundred soldiers,” elsewhere designated as “poche truppe mal disciplinate,” a few badly-disciplined troops, is as little complimentary to the Spanish and Sarde as it is to the English forces ; but whether these statements are correct or not, the historians say that the Viceroy not only speedily acceded to the terms of the capitulation, but suggested to the English Admiral a slight bombardment for the purpose of saving the appearance of too easy a victory, and that he accordingly opened his fire on the town on the 13th of August, even after the formal surrender.

Though Cagliari thus passed to the House of Austria by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, it was again subjected to the fury of the Spanish arms in 1717, when Philip V. sent a fleet of twelve ships of the line and 100 transports, with 600 cavalry, 8000 infantry, and a large force of artillery, to besiege the town. The attack was so

\* Lib. xii. vol. iv. p. 36.

† Lib. xii. vol. iv. p. 39

furious, the destruction caused by upwards of 5000 shells so great, and the means of defence so slight, that the Austrian and Sarde forces surrendered on the 1st of October, and the Spanish flag was hoisted on the Castello.

The hardships which the Cagliariitani endured during the siege, were subsequently increased by the expenses of having the large armament quartered upon them, and their ancient political privileges and municipal immunities circumscribed. The arrival of 20,000 Spanish troops, who staid at Cagliari on their passage to Sicily, committing every species of excess and libertinism, was an additional yoke; and the result of a deputation sent to Philip V., to complain of the atrocities and injustice, was a triple increase of the annual tribute, and a compulsory donativo of 180,000 scudi, or 34,560*l.*, without any form of application to the Stamenti.

But a termination of these misfortunes was at hand. According to the Treaty of London, signed in 1718, the Spanish dominion over them ceased on the 4th of August 1720. For three days the Austrian standard was formally hoisted: on the 9th of the month it was lowered, and the Savoy Cross, quartered with the arms of the island, was raised on the battlements of the capital.

The arms of Sardinia are a cross gules, on a field argent, with four heads sable, having a white bandage covering the eyes; they have been often changed, especially the heads, which originally were white, and had the oriental diadem, namely, a crown with a white bandage encircling the brow, but in old engravings and inscriptions the bandage appears not as covering the eyes, but as an ornament.

The earliest notice of these arms is in 1591 and

1598; and, according to some statements, they were the ancient arms of Aragon, in 1150, on the marriage of Petronilla of Aragon, with Raimond Berenger, Count of Barcelona, and probably passed into Sardinia on the first Aragonese expedition thither; and some painter, ignorant of heraldry, may have subsequently represented the heads black, confounding Negro Kings with Moorish Kings.

Their origin is traced by Spanish historians to the battle of Alcoraz, in 1096, when St. George is said to have appeared on horseback fighting among the Christian host, bearing a shield, argent, with cross, gules; and four heads of Moorish princes having been found on the field of battle, they were then incorporated in the shield by Don Pedro I.

They have also been considered to refer to four battles gained over the Saracen Museto, and added to the Papal Standard, given by Cardinal Ostia; but as that banner was a cross, gules, on a field, or, and the Sardinian is on a field argent, the supposition is not well founded. Nor is it more probable that they represent the four Giudicati; for each province had, as is well authenticated, its own distinct coat of arms.

Vittorio Amadeo II., on his accession to the throne of Sardinia, commenced the reforms and improvements so requisite after the neglect and mismanagement of the Spanish dynasty; but there are no circumstances during his or his successor's reign which particularly affected the capital.

During the French Revolution it was, as usual, fated to be a sufferer from external circumstances. On the 22nd January, 1793, the French fleet, consisting of eleven ships of the line, three frigates, and other vessels under Admiral Truguet, appeared before the city; and

the Sardes having refused to capitulate, a bombardment commenced on the 28th, and continued for four days, till the Vice-Admiral Latouche Treville brought up a reinforcement of three ships of the line, four frigates, thirty transports, and 7000 troops under the command of General Casabianca. The embarkation was effected during the bombardment, and a series of engagements ensued with varied success, till the 22nd February; but it is unnecessary to enter into the details of the atrocious slaughter and cruelties committed by both parties. Manno's narrative of the siege occupies twenty-eight pages, and a more particular account was published by Padre Napoli, at Bologna, entitled "*Memorie storiche della spedizione della gran flotta Francese contro l'isola di Sardegna.*" The defenders as well as the assailants shewed much courage; but, however well the former may have behaved, it is probable they would have been obliged to capitulate, had not a storm arisen on the 17th, and so damaged the fleet, that the French admirals were obliged to withdraw from Cagliari on the 22nd February.

In the following year, 1794, in consequence of the refusal of the king and the viceroy to assemble the Stamenti, a political insurrection took place, which was followed by that of Sulis, with the Angioy war against feudalism; and Carlo Emanuele IV., who succeeded Vittorio Amadeo III., in 1796, was obliged to retreat here in 1799, during the occupation of his continental dominions by the French.

On the accession of Vittorio Emanuele I. to the throne, Carlo Felice, his brother, was placed at the head of affairs in Cagliari, and his administration abounds in beneficial acts to the city, having founded various institutions, and reformed many abuses.

In 1814 the king, on returning to his continental states, left his queen Maria Teresa, to hold the reins of government; and on his abdication, in 1821, Carlo Felice continued the reforms and benefits commenced during his residence in the city; but nothing of peculiar interest or importance has occurred from that to the present period, either for good or for ill, in which the island has not in general participated.

The campagna to the north of Cagliari, is neither interesting nor pretty; though the gradual descent into the town opens a fine prospect. The immense stagno, with the river Caralita falling into it, appears as a lake on the right hand, bounded on the south-west by the mountains, which range boldly down to the shore; while on the south, the blue waters close the horizon, and the town extends itself in a lengthened line beneath, as described by Claudian 1400 years ago.

“Urbs Libyam contra Tyrio fundata potenti,  
Tenditur in longum Caralis, tenuemque per undas  
Obvia dimittit fracturum flumina collem.  
Efficitur portus medium mare, tutaque ventis  
Omnibus ingenti mansuescunt stagna recessu.”

After passing through a long suburb, some streets and piazze proclaim at once a capital; the general appearance of which shews that Turin and Genoa have grafted little on the forms and usages of Madrid and Barcelona. It stands  $39^{\circ} 12' 13''$  north latitude, and  $9^{\circ} 06' 44''$  longitude east of Greenwich, and is built at the foot and on the sides of overhanging hills, which, from their irregularity, give a picturesqueness to the whole outline. The upper part, called the Castello, or Casteddu in Sarde dialect, is surrounded by walls and fortifications, and is the chief and aristocratic

quarter, comprehending the residences of the Viceroy the official functionaries, with their offices and departments, and the principal public buildings. The castle and fortifications, built by the Pisans as late as the year 1217, and called by them the *Castello di Castro*, were repaired and increased at different periods of the Aragon and Savoy dominion; and those of the latter age shew their date by their inferiority in style and solidity.

The Sperone bastion was made in 1549, the Santa Croce in 1555, and the Balice in 1567.

The *Castello* has four entrances, the *porta Castello*, leading from the quarter called *La Marina*, the *porta dell' Elefante*, from the Stampace, the *porta Apremont*, from Villanova, and the *porta Reale*, under the hill of San Lorenzo. The principal towers of the *castello*, the San Pancrazio, the Elefante, and the Aquila, were erected by the Pisans; the first in 1305, standing about 427 feet above the level of the sea, and commanding the best panoramic view of the whole scene, has a curious doggerel inscription inserted in its walls, narrating the circumstances of its erection.

“ Sub annis milleno nostri Redemptoris  
 Quinto tercenteno binæ indictionis  
 Dei deorum.  
 Dominorum tempore, Becti Alteata  
 Rainerij de Balneo, turris hæc fundata  
 Castellanorum.  
 Cujus operarius fuit constitutus  
 Bectus Calzolarius, providus, astutus  
 Ubique locorum.  
 Atque scriba publicus sibi assignatus  
 Et dictus notarius, qui sit Deo gratus  
 Cœli cœlorum.



Cefas hujus fabricæ opera sedula  
 Architectorum optimus Joannes Capula  
 Murariorum  
 Porta beati sancti Pancratii."

The account of the Elefante gate, built also by the Pisans in the year 1307, is no less fantastical in its language and pompous record of the parties connected with its erection.

"Pisano communi omnia cum honore,  
 Concedente Domino, cedant et favore :  
 Et hoc opus maxime turris Elephantis,  
 Fundatum in nomine summi triumphantis,  
 Sub annis currentibus Domini millenis  
 Quartæ indictionis septem trecentenis,  
 Dominis prudentibus Joanne cinquina  
 Joanne Devechiis, gratiâ divinâ  
 Castelli essentibus Castii Castellanis,  
 Atque fidelissimis civibus Pisanis.  
 Cujus fuit electus sagax operarius  
 Providus et sapiens Marcus Caldolarius,  
 Atque sibi deditus fuit Oddo notarius  
 Hubaldus compositor horum Ritimarius,  
 Et Capula Joannes fuit caput magister,  
 Nunquam suis operibus inventus sinister."

The Aquila tower, of smaller dimensions, was built in 1305. They are all of a reddish white stone, of so fine and hard a substance that they might stand another 500 years in their perfect condition.

From these splendid buildings the town assumed its armorial bearings, the shield of which, during the Aragon dominion, was quarterly, 1st and 4th barry, or and gules, for Catalonia; and 2nd and 3rd, argent, a castle with three towers, port, and loopholes, laved by the waters of the sea, proper, for Cagliari; the whole

surrounded by a palm wreath and crowned with a marquisite coronet, with supporters two tritons. By a diploma of Carlo Emanuele, dated July 7th, 1766, the Savoy arms were substituted for those of Catalonia, and the shield now stands quarterly, 1st and 4th, gules, a cross, argent, for Savoy, and 2nd and 3rd for Cagliari, as before described.

The suburb of Stampace had formerly its own peculiar armorial bearings ;—a galley quartered with the Aragon arms, with this inscription—“*Rex Aragoniæ ab hostibus captus a fidelissimis Stampacienis liberatus ;*” and they were granted to the Stampacini by Don Martino King of Sicily in 1409, for having rescued and recovered him from the hands of a Tunisian pirate, who was cruising off Cagliari, and had captured him on board the royal galley.

The lower part of the town is sub-divided into three quarters ; the Marina, the Stampace, and the Villanova ; the first, formerly called Lapola, is to the south of the castello, and extends to the shore ; the Stampace, to the west of the castello, adjoins the poor suburb of Santa Tennera, or Avendrace, which was founded by the Pisans, and named after a bastion in their own city ; and the Villanova quarter to the east of the castle, owes its origin to the Aragonese.

The Bonaria district, which is not far from Villanova, was likewise populated by Catalan colonies from 1324 to 1326 ; and some curious laws prove the strong measures adopted at that period to prevent the inhabitants of the castello leaving their quarter and changing their residences. It is erroneously said to have been originally built after a plan of Barcelona, but if the Barcelonetta, the suburb of that city, is meant, there is certainly some similarity between them. The fortress

of Monteforte was also built by the Aragonese in 1327, for the defence of the colony.

The Bonaria range of hills consisting of sandstone, alabaster, and an osseous brescia, similar to that of Cerigo, Palermo, Ceuta, Gibraltar, and other parts of the shores of the Mediterranean; is curious in a geological point of view, as the adjoining hills, and that on which Cagliari itself stands, are of secondary limestone.

The castle and suburb of St. Igia or Gilla are now scarcely recognisable, but some remains of massive foundations and other parts of buildings confirm the statement that it stood in the present St. Avendrace quarter. The castle was dismantled, the greater part of it destroyed, and all its treasures taken by the Genoese in 1196; but the population and suburb were not exterminated, as Don Alfonso attacked them in his siege of Cagliari in 1325.

About two miles to the north of the city, and on one of the highest points, about 528 feet above the level of the sea are the ruins of the Castello di San Michele, about 466 feet square, with four towers at the angles, originally a Carthusian monastery, and called Bonvei. Being converted into a fortress by the Pisans on their possession of Cagliari, it became the scene of many a conflict between them and the Aragonese, into whose hands it eventually fell, and was kept as a fortification by the family of Carroz till they retired to Spain, when it became, after some years, a military hospital, and on its disuse, fell into its present ruined state. The view from it is very extensive, and deservedly merits its former name.

Cagliari has in its public walks a peculiarity and advantage which few other towns on the Italian coast

similarly situated, enjoy : neither Genoa nor Naples, though partially built on and backed by hills, have terraces or thoroughfares commanding such extensive views ; and in this respect the “ Passegiata ” of the Polveria, the San Lorenzo, and that of the Castello, are great attractions to the stranger.

The former, so called from the stores and factory of gunpowder at its extremity, is laid out with shrubs and flower-beds ; and, sheltered by the overhanging bastions of the Castello, escapes much of the scorching rays of the mid-day and western sun. A number of statues scattered about the walks have no particular merit, except that of a female figure, evidently an ancient Roman work, which has been restored, and has a scroll in her hand, on which is inscribed “ Carta di Logu ; ” and by this metamorphose and addition there is now a public monument to their illustrious Giudicessa Eleonora,—with shame be it said of the Sardes,—the only one in existence. The alteration and condition of the statue is quite emblematical of her legislative code, for it is grafted on the Roman, and both are as confused and abused by the modern amalgamation as the statue itself.

A little casino adjoins and forms the façade of the Polveria, and the military bands constantly playing here make it the favorite lounge.

The Passegiata of San Lorenzo or Buon Cammino, a long winding walk on the side of the hill, is about 1710 feet long, and leads from the Porta Reale to the height of the overhanging fortresses.

With the exception of the tower of San Pancrazio, the terrace of the Castello commands the finest and most extensive view ; the distant ranges of the Sarpèddi mountains bound the north-east ; the villages of

Pirri, Pauli, Quartuccio, Quartu, and the Stagni over which they seem to preside, are in the foreground ; to the east and south east the lengthened line of coast, and the Capo di St. Elia, are washed by the sea ; and on the south the eye again meets the broad expanse of waters, whose azure surface relieves the glare of the dazzling white buildings of the subjacent town. It is a delicious walk in the evening when the setting sun throws this part of the town into a deep shade ; when the night land breeze is just springing up to chase away the lulled " imbattu ;" and when the cloudless sky is momentarily assuming that deep azure tint which comes on so rapidly in climes where twilight scarcely exists.

The scene brings the history of past ages to the mind more vividly, perhaps, than any other spot in the island. The knowledge that the Lybian and Carthaginian shores are accessible in twelve hours, and those of Campania and Latium in twenty-four, is immediately connected with the events in which those nations have participated, and shews through a lapse of ages those same nations now holding out as their banners the olive branch instead of the sword, commerce and trade substituted for aggression and rapine, and offering by their artificial proximity the blessings of peace, and advantages which Sardinia never possessed ; crowned, too, with a cheering belief that Cagliari, if she knew how and were allowed to avail herself of her rich natural endowment, might become one of the most important cities in the Mediterranean.

On both sides of the promontory are large Stagni—a combination of lake and marsh ; those on the east are the Molentargiu, the Mare stagno, the Quarto and Mare Calagonis ; and the stagno Cagliaritano on the west side more than six miles long and three broad, is

replenished by the river Caralita, which in its course from the Sarcidano district receives the tributary streams of the Trejenta, Donòri and Ciserro. The bed of the stagno being in many parts below the level of the sea and full of large deep holes, the waters stagnate, and the decomposition of the vegetable matter in the spots left dry by the diminution of the streams in summer, produces much malaria and intemperie, though Pausanias\* erroneously attributes the unhealthiness to the crystallisation of the salt. The saline particles however attach themselves to every thing around, and the vines and herbage are said to suffer thereby. In the parts always covered with the salt water is excellent fishing, by which upwards of 700 persons obtain their livelihood, though the annual produce has been estimated at not more than about 500 tons.

But the Stagni are deservedly renowned for the quantity of aquatic birds of every species which resort thither; and from the peculiar advantages of climate, shelter, and food, there is perhaps hardly a place in Europe where so many of the feathered tribe may be seen collected together. Not being at Cagliari during the winter, I had no opportunity of seeing this statement fully confirmed; but when visiting the Stagni even in summer, the wild swans, cormorants, herons, geese, and all the smaller tribe of wild fowl, were countless. The most remarkable bird was the flamingo. These majestic and beautiful creatures, arriving from the south about the month of September and remaining till the April following, when they return to their warmer climes, adopt in their flight the most methodical order and regularity; their phalanxes, which consist of from one to five thousand, being cuneiform, and

\* Lib. x. ch. 17.

their closeness to each other and steady simultaneous movement of their wings giving the appearance of one united mass. The exquisitely bright crimson tint of their plumage, slightly relieved by the paler hue of the inner feathers, resembles, when lighted up by the sun's rays, a cloud of living fire; "Di più bel colore non s'imbelleddò mai l'aurora, nè splendettero i rosetti di Pesto, quanto sono vaghe le ale del fenicottero," as Cetti has well observed. Nor is the spectacle less interesting when, collected and moving on the shores of the Stagni, they appear, at a moderate distance, as a fringe of crimson silk lightly fanned by the passing breeze. Though known to the Greeks as *phœnicopterus*, or "crimson-winged," Aristotle gives no account of the bird. The Latin *flamma* is the origin of our word *flamingo*, from which also are the *flamant* of the French, and *flamenco* of the Spanish; but the Sardes call them "mangoni," and "gentarubia," "the crimson people." It does not appear that they often stay to breed in the Stagni, as their nests are rarely found, and their mode of incubation differs from that of other birds. They raise a conical pile of weeds, shells, and other matter, to about two feet and a half high, which is about the height of their legs; and having deposited their eggs at the top of it, they sit astride the pile, and thus hatch them,—the length of their legs requiring this strange position. The Stagni are so favorable to their habits and wants, that between two and three hundred thousand have been known to congregate on the shores. Aristophanes, who makes *Peisthetairos*, in the *Aves*, exclaim when he saw them, "By the heavens, they are beautiful and crimson!"—gives the epithet of "marshy" to them.\*

\* *Aves*, line 272.

Among the Egyptians it was sacred to Isis, and the Romans so esteemed it, not only for its rarity, but for its supposed excellence as a luxury for the table, that when Caligula caused himself to be deified, it was one of the victims sacrificed on his altars. \*

Philostratus † speaks of its well-known flavor and luxury as esteemed by some people ; and Apicius, according to Pliny, ‡ found peculiar qualities in the tongue of the bird. That “ nepotum omnium altissimus gurgis ” invented a sauce for it ; and Lampridius § also mentions the tongue and brains as favorite dishes of Helio-gabalus. Suetonius, in giving one of the bills of fare of Vitellius, enumerates the roe of lampreys, the brains of pheasants, and tongues of phœnicopteri, as perfect delicacies. Martial speaks metaphorically of the plumage and the tongue ; and Juvenal || mentions the dish as one of the foolish luxuries of the age.

“ The crimson people ” are not in such request among the Sardes ; but though the bird is seldom eaten, the shank bone is occasionally used by the inhabitants of the Campidano as a pipe for their launedda, instead of the reed, and is said to produce remarkably fine, clear, and strong notes. Cetti mentions having tried the tongue and brains, and says of the former, “ A me parve mangiar poppa di vitella ; ” and that the latter were “ buoni, ma non singolari ; in sostanza non avevano sapor d'altro che di cervello ; ” on which observation Mimaut observes, “ On avait peut-être oublié la sauce d'Apicius. ” Cetti amusingly concludes his gastronomical disquisition in the following words : “ Ma prese due lingue, comunque ciascheduna da se non fosse più

\* *Vide* Suetonius, ch. 23 and 57.

† In vitâ Apollon., lib. viii. ch. 4.

‡ Lib. x. ch. 68.

§ De Obson. et Condim, lib. vi. ch. 7.

|| Sat. xi. v. 137.



che un boccone, non andai più innanzi; m'accorsi che andava a dare gran lavoro allo stomaco per quella notte, e compresi, che a fare squazzo di lingue di fenicotteri, come gl'Imperadori Romani, ci volevano le risorse della Romana intemperanza;"—a Vitellian recipe, according to Suetonius.\* “*Epulas interdum quadrafariam dispartiebat . . . facile omnibus sufficiens vomitandi consuetudine.*”

Among the public buildings of the city are nine churches in the Castello quarter, twelve in the Marina, fifteen in the Stampace, two in the suburbs of Santa Tennera, seven in the Villanova, and seven in the Bonaria,—making a total of fifty-two.

The cathedral establishment consists of the archbishop, with a dean, thirty canons, and thirty-five beneficed priests. The revenue of the see varies according to the tithes; but it may be estimated at from 60,000 to 80,000 scudi, from 11,520*l.* to 15,360*l.* per annum, while that of the priests is about 1000 scudi or 192*l.* Besides these salaries are the “spogli” and “yacanti,” a sort of fines, lapses, vacant livings, extra masses, offerings, &c., the appropriation and distribution of which is said to have been much abused. The records of the cathedral pretend that St. Clement, a disciple of our Saviour, was the first bishop of Cagliari in the year 46! and shew an array of 109 successors, among whom, in 1360, is an Infante of Spain, afterwards Archbishop of Toledo.

Funds have been bequeathed to the cathedral for the performance of twenty-five masses daily, besides the usual and extra services on feste, and from the number going on simultaneously at the different little chapels, some of the pious trusts of the testators seem to be

\* Vitell. ch. 13.

carried out; consequently, there are nearly 10,000 masses performed annually within these walls.

Among one of the bequests is the lamp which burns at the high altar, and funds for the wax candles; and as eight ounces of wax are consumed every twenty-four hours, more than one and a half cwt. is consumed annually for the benefit of the testator's soul.

The cathedral situated on the east side of the Castello, with a high tower adjoining, which serves as a belfry, was built with the remains of two other churches, on a similar plan to that of San Paolo at Rome, but on a reduced scale. It is about 131 feet long, 122 feet wide in the transepts, and 112 high, including the small dome. An inscription relates to its foundation by the Pisans in 1312, though it was finished by the Aragonese in 1331, and eventually rebuilt in 1669.

“Castello Castri contextit  
 Virgini Matri direxit  
 Me templum istud invexit  
 Civitas Pisana,  
 Anno currente milleno  
 Protinus, et tercenteno  
 Additoque duodeno  
 Incarnationis  
 Redemptoris, Jesu Christi.  
 Dominus Bernardus Guicti  
 Michel Ecchavani dicti  
 Erant castellani.  
 Ille qui creavit mundum  
 Reddat igitur jucundum  
 Communi Pisarum. Amen.”

There is a curious amalgamation of different periods of the Pisan and Roman styles; but the exterior facings, steps, pavements, and many of the small chapels being of fine marble, give a sumptuous appearance to the

whole building. The high altar is of silver, with a number of small and indifferently worked statuettes; and among the variety of pictures, a martyrdom of Santa Barbara, after Caracci, a Christ between the two thieves (a copy, if I recollect rightly, of that of Pedro Orrente in the gallery at Madrid), a Flagellation, a bad copy of a Guido, a St. Cecilia, and a Madonna surrounded by Saints, are highly esteemed. I omitted to see one in the sacristy, described by Valery as having three compartments, representing the Saviour, the Virgin Mary, Santa Anna, and Santa Margareta; and which, independently of being an excellent picture, is interesting from the circumstance that it was given by Clement VII. to the cathedral when restored to him by a Spanish soldier who, at the attack on Rome in 1527, had carried it off from the Pope's bed-room. It is only exhibited on the feast of the Assumption, and great indulgences are then granted to the faithful who on that day shall have recited seven Paternosters and seven Ave Marias before it.

Among the other curiosities of the sacristy is a silver plate, representing in alto-relievo one of the fables of Neptune, with the accompaniments of nymphs, tritons, &c., attributed to Benvenuto Cellini; and another instance of the Pagan allegories supporting the Christian rites, is in one of the little chapels, where a Bacchante forms part of the altar. The tomb of Don Martino, King of Sicily, who died at Cagliari in 1409, was erected many years after his death, and, having been altered and added to at different periods, is more remarkable for its size than its style; but it serves as a gorgeous memorial of Aragon conquest and vanity, as well as of Sarde defeat and obsequious subjection.

The sanctuary underneath the presbytery, hewn out

of the solid rock and highly ornamented, is divided into three parts, in one of which is the tomb of Marie Josephine Louise, the daughter of Vittorio Amadeo III. and wife of Louis XVIII. of France. She died in London, November 12, 1810, from whence her remains were taken to Cagliari; and among the several presents made by Louis XVIII. to the cathedral on the occasion of her interment, is an ostensor or stand for the holy wafer, on which are their portraits, with the strange inscription, "*Intendance des menus plaisirs du Roi et affaires de la chambre.*" Valery well observes on the irrelevancy of such a motto, "*Titre bizarre, frivole, malséant, qui le parait encore davantage apposé sur le sacré soleil chargé du Saint des Saints.*"

A monument to Carlo Emanuele (the infant son of Vittorio Emanuele), who died August 9, 1799, is formed of an antique bas-relief, on which are figures by no means remarkable for their modesty and delicacy.

Around these subterranean chapels is an immense number of niches with bas-reliefs, inside which are the supposed remains of a whole army of martyrs, found under the ruins of the church of St. Saturnino, in 1617, and removed to their present resting place with great ceremony and veneration, under the superintendence of the Archbishop Esquivel, who published an account of it, entitled "*Relaçion de la invençion de los cuerpos sanctos, A.D. 1617;*" a pamphlet quite worthy of the subject. The assumption that they are the bones of martyrs arose from the letters "*B. M.*" having been found on the tombs, and which the Sardes, more credulous than classical, immediately interpreted into "*Beatus Martyr.*" Muratori in stating the well-known fact that *B.M.*, the common inscription on pagan as well as on Christian tombs, means "*Bonæ*

*Memoriæ*," highly offended the Cagliari ecclesiastics by dissipating their delusion, and was assailed for his impious scepticism. Padre Napoli, in his "*Note Illustrate e diffuse*," attempts to vindicate the sanctity of these relics by asking the learned antiquary if he knew that at the time of their removal, numberless miracles were performed, and that among them, all the bells of the churches rang by themselves! "*Suonarono da per se, tutte le campane delle chiese!*" The number of these martyrs is so appalling, that if one has any faith in the identity of their remains, Cagliari must have been a species of religious slaughter-house.

The church of San Pietro, near some Roman remains, is one of the most ancient in the town; and though the archbishops performed mass there in the thirteenth century, is now rarely frequented but by the fishermen of the Stagni.

The Vergine del Carmine has some excellent specimens of the early painting on panel; and the church of Santa Anna boasts of two works of modern native artists, "*The Last Supper*," by Marghinotti, and a marble statue of St. Amadeo, nine feet high, by Galassi.

In the church of San Lucifero, large and simple in style, is a rough sarcophagus, supposed to have belonged to that Saint, though his bones are now among the relics in the cathedral. When bishop of Cagliari, in the year 335, he took a celebrated part in the Athanasian disputes of that period; and his letters to the Emperor Constantius are said to be full of energy, but breathing a bitter sectarian spirit. Though worshipped for many ages in the Sarde calendar, he was never acknowledged by the Roman church till 1803, when he was legitimately canonised by Pius VII.

The St. Agostino church is rich both in material and ornaments; and among the highly revered possessions is a large statue of the Saint in wood, well carved, but so bedizened with gilding and painting as to have a most theatrical appearance.

This spot is famous in the ecclesiastical history of Sardinia, from the remains of the Saint having reposed here for upwards of 200 years, after having been transported from Hippo, in Africa, to Cagliari, in the year 500, by the Roman Catholic bishops who were driven from that country at that period by Thrasimund, the king of the Vandals. In 1721, when Cagliari was exposed to the constant invasions of the Saracens, Luitprand, King of the Lombards, to protect these holy remains, obtained them by purchase, or other means, from the Cagliaritani, and carried them to Pavia. There they now rest in their magnificent and beautiful Gothic mausoleum, in the duomo of that city. The remarks of Gibbon\* on these circumstances are in his usual caustic style.

St. Augustin (according to Ambrogio Staibano, his biographer†) built the Oratorio, which is still standing; and to which the well-known story is attached. While superintending the work, a beam was found to be too short to go across the walls. To the expressions of annoyance and disappointment of his companions he replied, that they ought to have more faith in God, and remember what was said in the Gospel, "Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall say unto this mountain, be thou removed and cast into the sea, and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass, he shall have whatsoever he saith." He then ordered them to

\* Chapter 41.

† Chapter 27, p. 112.

lay hold of one end of the beam, while he took the other; and having said "Pull it," though he scarcely touched it, the beam lengthened itself; and by this means the building of the little chapel was continued. "Tira,"—(disse al compagno) ed appena l'ebbe toccato, la trave si allungò in modo che avanzò la cappelletta."

An amusing but tolerably good picture in the church represents the Saint in his library, surrounded by the chiefs of the different religious orders which adopted his principles; and for their edification and charitable example he is kicking and rolling at his feet Martin Luther, who is upon all fours! An old inscription in the architrave over the door-way, speaks of a certain subterranean and miraculous spring of water which cured an infinity of complaints; but it has lost its reputation; and on the dissolution of the convent to which this church belonged, by Philip II. of Spain, the burials which took place in its precincts during the great mortality in the year 1816, have, as a Sarde author expresses it, "injured the holiness of the place," "nocquero alla religione del luogo."

A church, dedicated to St. Efisio, is only remarkable for the crypt, originally a cistern for receiving and remitting the water of the Roman aqueduct; the two apertures for which purpose still exist. As this saint is said to have been imprisoned here, and is the chief in the Cagliari calendar, it should be told that he was, according to the legend, an officer in the army of Diocletian, and for his conversion to Christianity was beheaded at the entrance gate of the town of Nora. On his festa, the 1st of May, the greater part of the Cagliaritani accompany his image, with the usual honors, to the place of his decapitation. All classes join in the pro-

cession, and the brilliancy and variety of the costumes are described as superior to those at any festa in Italy. The re-union of the people of the different districts at a point on the shore called La Scaffa, is the brightest part of the scene, as the vessels and boats of the coast are assembled there, and decked out with flags and ornaments.

It is unnecessary to enter into any details of the ceremony, but the fact of St. Efisio keeping the best and gayest carriage in Sardinia, locked up in a coach-house at the church, is important. It is something between a Lord Mayor's coach and a Cataphalet; and his Saintship, drawn by oxen, is conveyed alone inside to Nora and back again with no less state and pomp than his Worship to the Mansion House. These honors have been regularly paid to him in recompense for his having taken away the plague from the city in the year 1656; but after a lapse of 137 years, with a very proper sense of the obligation he was under for this annual trip, he thought it high time to perform some other miracle for his Sarde friends; and accordingly, when the French besieged Cagliari in the month of February, 1798, he returned a gracious answer to the prayers and processions made to him during the bombardment of the city, and was the cause of the repulse and defeat of Latouche Treville, though not before his church had suffered severely from the shot and shells which the impious French admiral had thrown, and some of which still remain fixed and incrusting in the walls.

A medal was struck by the Piedmontese government commemorative of the Sarde success, with an inscription, properly attributing it to the mighty arm of the God of Victories; but the Cagliaritani nevertheless believe in the power of their canonised hero on that occasion; and



to assist them in their faith, Marghinotti has painted a large picture representative of the subject, now in the monastery of the Scolopii.

The church of St. Domenico has a curious picture—a crucifixion, in which, among the many portraits contained in it, is one of Dante. The name of the painter is uncertain, but apparently by the same artist are two good heads of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The monasteries and convents were greatly reduced by the Aragon dynasty, and partially weeded out by the House of Savoy; many, however, still remain, and the following is a list of their names, the number of members, and the different orders to which they belong. The San Giuseppe monastery has 25 of the Scolopii; the S. S. Annunziata, 14 Scolopii Noviziati; the St. Rosalia, 45 Osservanti; Il Mauro, 30 Osservanti Noviziati; the Convento Maggiore, 64 Cappucini; the San Benedetto, 18 Cappucini Noviziati; the Santa Teresa, 26 Gesuiti; the Convito, 20 Gesuiti; the San Michele, 20 Gesuiti Noviziati; the San Francesco, 24 Conventuali; the San Leonardo, 21 Agostiniani; the San Francesco, 14 Paolotti; the San Domenico, 27 Domenicani; the Buonaria, 32 Mercedarii; Il Carmine, 25 Carmeliti; and the San Antonio, 11 Ospedalieri. The Santa Chiara Convent has 30 Francescane Nuns; the Santa Lucia, 18 Francescane; La Purissima, 14 Francescane; the Cappucine, 33 Cappucine; and the Santa Catterina, 8 Domenicane. Besides these 21 institutions, are the 8 Confraternite of Del Monte, Il Santo Sepolcro, Santa Catterina, Santa Lucia, La Vergine d'Itria, St. Efsio, Santa Restituta, and the Del Cristo.

I could not ascertain the exact number of the members in each of the Confraternite, but they may be aver-



aged at 6, which, added to the 416 Frati and 108 Monache, give the aggregate of 567; and the number of clergy engaged in the service of the 52 churches being estimated at 220, including the 66 members of the cathedral, there will be 787 individuals belonging to the church and ecclesiastical establishments, which, in the population of the town, 29,600, gives a proportion of 1 in every 37 persons. Nor in this calculation is included the number of lay individuals attached to the different institutions as clerks, sacristani, servants, attendants, or in some way connected with them; but if calculated at 200, and added to the 787, the result will be that about 1 person in every 30 is dependent on the pecuniary profits of religion.

The Franciscan monastery in the Stampace, founded in 1274, is a fine piece of architecture, and remarkable for its peristyle. Some pictures in the chapel, attributed to Cimabue, the founder of the Florentine school, are more curious than good; and that of the Santo Dottore is the best. Among the relics and curiosities is a piece of embroidered tissue, said to have been part of the robe of St. Augustin, the manufacture of which bespeaks too clearly its date and the deception; but the most interesting object is a large tribunal, supported by three stone pillars, raised in commemoration of the residence of Charles V. at Cagliari, when on his expedition to Tunis, in 1535.

In the same quarter of the town is the beautifully situated monastery of the Capucins, founded in 1591, and though not so rich in ornament as the Franciscan, is not inferior in style.

A pharmacy in the establishment supplies the other monasteries.

The college and church of the Jesuits—the richest in

Cagliari — is sumptuous in style, and decorations of colored marbles, columns, and an alabaster altar balustrade.

Among the pictures is an Adam and Eve—after Guido ; but our first parents having been discovered to be too indecent in their original simplicity of nakedness, were, a few years since, re-painted, and robed in the *mastrucca*,—the national sheepskin,—and the innocent angels dressed in proper frocks.

Though St. Efisio is the favorite object of admiration with the majority of the Cagliaritani, our Lady of Bonaria holds so very high a place in their pious affections that the miraculous image and its equally miraculous effects must be noticed.

The Bonaria Monastery, situated on the shore, commands a beautiful panoramic view ; and the only benefits the thirty-two Mercedarii have rendered to society are the cultivation of the land, and the working of some alabaster quarries belonging to the establishment ; but even in this labor their own personal, rather than the public, advantage has been mainly considered.

A few years after the foundation of the monastery in 1324, it was, of course, desirable that some miraculous circumstance should bring it into notoriety, and the wishes of the Mercedarii were accomplished in 1370, when, according to the legend, a Catalan vessel, in returning from Italy, met with a violent storm, and was obliged to throw all her cargo overboard. It all sank, with the exception of a little chest, which the sailors observed to float, and steer its own course most pertinaciously towards Cagliari ; and their astonishment increased by finding that their own ship voluntarily followed in the wake of the chest. Both were at length safely grounded on the shores of Bonaria ; and the

sailors, anxious to examine the floating guide which had led them in safety, proceeded to overhaul it before an assembled multitude. All their united endeavors to move it from the shore were unavailing; it was as firmly fixed to the spot as the Bonaria hill itself. At length one of them discovered that it was sealed with the arms of the order of Mercedarii; and two of the fraternity, being called in, lifted it up as though it had been a handful of the sand of their shore. The news soon spread throughout the city; the ecclesiastical and civil authorities being summoned to the ceremony of opening the chest at the church of the monastery, the operation was performed, and the contents proved to be a figure of the Virgin holding her infant son, and in her right hand a lighted candle, which had singed her hand and mantle, as well as the foot of the infant. The astonishment having subsided, a discussion arose as to where the blessed treasure should be placed; for the principal altar of the church was already occupied by an image of a Madonna del Miracolo, and the arrival, therefore, of another of a similar character was a puzzling point, and caused a considerable argument as to priority and holy etiquette. It was at length decided that she should be, and she immediately was, placed in one of the side-chapels; but the two images agreed between themselves in the night to change places, and accordingly did so. The astounded populace, wishing to have a further test of their power of locomotion, replaced them as they stood on the preceding evening; but during the night they again changed places. There was nothing left now to be done, but to give the statues a third and last trial; and, in the presence of the multitude which sat up to watch, they, for the third time, transposed themselves; since which

unequivocal and expressed determination of occupying these particular shrines, they have been allowed to remain there, and are objects of the utmost veneration. The chest image presides over the high altar, which is decorated with gold and silver chains, lamps, and ornaments of every imaginable kind and material ; while in the altar itself, made of worked silver, is the old box in which the image arrived, and little splinters of which have been purchased at a high price by the devout, as patent life buoys—an infallible security against shipwreck. The feelings of awe and reverence with which these relics were shewn me seemed to be a component part of the whole miracle ;—particularly the marks of the burning caused by the impious candle. In front of the altar is a little ivory ship hanging by a piece of string from the ceiling,—a holy vane to indicate which way the wind is blowing outside the bay of Cagliari, by the position of the prow. In 1680, Count Egmont, the Viceroy, in a fit of piety towards the ship, and politeness to the Sardes, substituted a gold chain adorned with precious stones for the ordinary string by which it had been suspended ; but the sacred ship disapproved of the alteration, and obstinately refused to turn its prow according to the wind till the monks had restored the original string.

It would not be just towards the rival Madonna del Miracolo to omit her history, as her origin is as clear and satisfactory as that of her companion. Her title is derived from the circumstance of a disappointed suppliant, who had unsuccessfully implored her assistance in a gambling transaction, having plunged a dagger into her throat for her refusal, and his consequent loss. At the moment of committing the sacrilegious crime, the wrath of heaven was evinced by heavy rolls of thunder,

amid which the image poured forth a stream of blood from the wound he had made, and the audacious sinner fell senseless on the ground. The wound, as well as the blood stains, are still visible, and produce all the desired effects of horror and veneration in pious believers. But if the image of the Madonna del Miracolo could not preserve itself against the ruthless dagger of the assassin, it has, nevertheless, the power of preserving many of the bodies which are buried in the cemetery of Bonaria from decay. The process of decomposition is retarded here, as well as in many other places, by the absorption of moisture by the carbonate of lime and argil of the soil, as Captain Smyth rightly observes ; but the Cagliariitani understand and believe in images more than chemistry and geology.

Among the pictures of the monastery is one representing the Mercedarii giving religious instruction to the Jesuits ; a supposition so offensive to the all-wise descendants of Ignatius Loyola, that, according to the story, they have frequently endeavored, but without success, to buy up a work of art representing what they consider to be an impossibility.

Another painting in the cloisters represents the story of a Turk, who, after renouncing his faith for Christianity, subsequently returned to it, as he objected to pay a certain pecuniary contribution to the church ; but at night five demons went to him, and were about to carry off his penurious and apostate soul, when the Madonna di Bonaria appeared to him, put the demons to flight, regained the Mahometan convert, and, of course, the contribution.

Many of the other monasteries are well worth visiting ; but their details are not sufficiently interesting to be noticed.

The Piazza San Carlo, in the Stampace, is the principal square of Cagliari, and from a large monumental mile-stone in it, the distances on the high road to Sassari are calculated.

The Strada di San Michele, a handsome street about 262 yards long is, during the carnîval, the corso for the horse races ; and, in gaiety of tapestries and carpets hanging from the windows, in the multitude of masked spectators, and in the usual happy but frivolous amusements of that season, resembles the corso of Rome, though the mode of racing differs from that of the Imperial City. The Romans are content with starting their horses with no other burdens than ribbons and crackers, and concede the prize to the affrighted animal which arrives first at the goal ; but the Sardes, on the contrary, consider the dexterity and activity of the riders to be the primary excellence and amusement of their races. It is called a "Pareggia ;" and from three to six riders start together, their arms interlocked within each other, so that quadrupeds and bipeds form one animated mass of chivalry and centaurism ; and thus linked together, they start and gallop over the roughly paved and steep streets at a terrific pace, the sparks flying from the flint stones at every step as they dash by the buildings and assembled multitudes. The merit of the race consists in the riders all arriving in the same order as they started, without having been separated from each other. Pareggia succeeds pareggia in uproarious clatter ; the amusement is kept up till dusk, and is as exciting to the riders as to the spectators ; but the dangers which happen to both have induced the Government to put down this species of racing ; and it is now, therefore, rarely performed. The horses, like those at Rome on the festa of St. Antonio, receive

a holy blessing at the Church, which gives a religious tint to the whole picture.

The principal streets have a tolerable pavement; but where there is none, walking is very painful, from the irregularity and sharp edges of the stones. Gale-riens are employed in cleansing and sweeping; but, wherever this operation is omitted, the accumulation of filth is abominable.

There are not above 130 lamps throughout the whole town, though a duty on oil brought into the city is specifically raised for the purpose.

Among the many inconveniences of the narrow streets, is the finding them continually blocked up by the "tracca" drawn by oxen; many of which animals do not shew the greatest amiability of temper and courtesy towards the passenger, if he chance to go too near or touch them. Those whose character is known to be vicious, have a wisp of straw tied to their horns as a warning; a custom, which, adopted likewise in other countries, may be traced back to the Romans. Plutarch, in his life of Crassus, mentions that Lucinius, being asked why he did not attack Crassus among the rest of his adversaries, answered, "He wears wisps upon his horns."

Cagliari, in respect to its public and private architecture, can only claim to be ranked among the second class of cities.

The Municipal Palace, a small ignoble building, contains a portrait of Carlo Felice, with fourteen other figures around him, squeezed into the canvas with a stiffness as painful as the extravagances of the allegory of the subject. This, as well as a portrait of the present King, is painted by Marghinotti.

Embedded in the façade of the Palace is a marble



tablet with a Latin inscription, commemorative of the arrival of Charles V., in 1535, and of his having fortified the Marina quarter of the town.

"Imper. Car. V. Rege, et domino semper augusto, orbis patre, et monarchâ, victore, ac triumphatore invictissimo Calarim clementissimè ingresso : huc convocatâ eodem duce Calaris ingenti classe triremium, et navium fermé sexcentarum, confluentibus ex universâ Europâ strenuissimis heroibus directa mense Junii, atque ejus arca maritima, ac munitissima auspiciis, imperioque illustrissimi, atque incliti viri don Antonii de Cardona ex memoratis, et ducati, atque alto focorum sanguine progeniti, et pro eodem sacratis, ac Christianis : Cæsare locum tenentis generalis, hoc propugnaculum, et mœnia contigua mari adjacentia publicâ impensâ extruebant, præclarius, et semper viris optime de republicâ meritis, civitatisque patriciis, ac vera majest. Gaspare Fortesa, Onofrio Rocca, Petro Mora, Joannato Martino, Michaelae Amargos, consiliariis anno S.N. M.D.XXXV. Reipublicæ architectus Petrus Pons Barchinonensis."

The event was of considerable importance to the capital, and does not exactly coincide with the account given by Robertson, in his "History of Charles V."\* The inscription states that there were nearly 600 vessels, "fermé sexcentarum," and though there is no minute record in the Cagliari archives of the monarch's visit, similar to that at Alghero, it appears, according to the accounts of Gazano, Ulloa, Fara, Vico, and others, that he left Barcelona on the 11th June, arrived at Cagliari on the 15th, and stayed ten days there ; consequently his departure would have taken place about the 25th June. Robertson, however, states that "on the 16th July, the fleet, consisting of five hundred vessels, having on board above 30,000 regular troops, set sail for Cagliari," &c. &c.

\* *Vide* lib. v. anno 1535.

The glorious victory obtained by the Emperor was as beneficial to the Sardes as to the other States of Christendom which had suffered from African piracy and slavery. Robertson, in speaking of the results of the expedition, states the number of slaves relieved from bondage to have been 20,000 ; but, as he omitted the exact number, sex, and nation, the list may be extracted from Gazano, on the authority of Gregorio Leti and Rodigro Sandival :—" Italians,—male 4490, female 2735 ; Sicilians, 2618 and 1866 respectively ; French, 1772 and 453 ; Spanish, 3522 and 1217 ; Sardes, 644 and 475 ; Corsicans, 327 and 148 ; English, 34 and 109 ; Germans, 25 and 35 ; Flemish, 113 and 21 ; making a total of 20,604."

The Viceregal palace has little external or internal elegance. A series of portraits of the Viceroys which adorn the walls, is an interesting record ; but scarcely any of them are valuable as works of art. It was rebuilt after its destruction by fire in 1656 ; in connection with which calamity it is stated that the Viceroy having ordered the demolition of the Augustin convent, as it interfered with the fortifications which at that period were being put in a state of defence, the fire broke out in his place on the night previous to the commencement of the work, and destroyed every thing he possessed. So evident was it to him, as well as to the rest of the Cagliaritani, that St. Augustin kindled the fire, that the Viceroy went the next day to his shrine, and, doing penance, demanded pardon for his sacrilegious intentions.

The arsenal on the San Pancrazio heights, stands on a site excavated in the rock, against which part of the building abuts. The Count di Boyl (who obligingly accompanied me over it) undertook its erection in

1827, but he was not allowed to carry out his original designs, and it remains unfinished. The entrance by a large archway, with four granite columns of good style and proportions, might presume an establishment worthy of it; but there is nothing in the interior except a few models of various articles of warfare, and a series of very small workshops, in which were three or four people employed in unimportant repairs. The casting of guns and manufacture of fire-arms has long ceased to be carried on, as the supplies come from Turin; and "all quality, pride, pomp, and circumstance of war," together with the Count Boyl's "occupation," are gone.

The only remarkable object is a bronze statue of the late King, Carlo Felice, about twelve feet high, designed by Galassi. Great fears were entertained when it was cast, lest it should prove a failure, as it was the first attempt in the island, and probably would never have been executed had not the Count di Boyl guaranteed the expenses to the Syndic of Cagliari, at whose cost it was to be done; but under his superintendence the trial succeeded, without accident either in the fusing or casting. As an artistical performance it cannot be considered, with the exception of the drapery, a work of much merit. Carlo Felice is represented in a tunic and greaves, and might easily be mistaken for Julius Cæsar, or any other Roman warrior, from whose statues Galassi had taken his ideas; but the classic and heroic garb but ill accords with the character of the Savoy monarch, who, though firm and strong in his opinions,—the result of prejudice rather than knowledge,—is allowed, even by his partisans, to have been extraordinarily wanting in physical courage and personal nerve.

That a man, therefore, who, as is well known to be

the fact, could not go on board a ship, be within reach of gunpowder, or mount a horse, without alarm, should be accoutred and represented as a Roman hero, is an act of greater adulation to royalty, than of consistency and truthfulness of art in aiding history and biography. In conversing with a friend on this subject, he drily observed, that it was owing to this innate timidity that even the statue would not leave the arsenal and go down to the place intended for and named after him,—the Piazza San Carlo; but the expense and trouble of moving his bronze Majesty, from whom the Cagliariaritani can now get no return for the compliment, is, however, the real reason. Von Raumer thus speaks of this monarch:—"Charles Felix used to say that, but for the soldiers and the students, there would be no such things as public disturbances. He never could be prevailed upon to be present at any military exercises; and if he met any soldiers by accident, he used to draw the curtains of his carriage windows. 'Give them,' he said 'what uniform you like; fuggiranno!'"

Adjoining the arsenal, on the summit of the hill, are the new barracks. It is a fine, healthy, and dry spot; but being built on a site excavated in the rock, the heat from the refraction of the limestone is intense. The rest of the garrison, which, including all branches of the service, amounts to about 1800 men, is scattered about in different parts of the town, with but little attention to their comfort and cleanliness.

The military force of the island, independently of the Piedmontese troops quartered in it, consists of the corps of militia, Cacciatori guardie, Corpo Franco, Guastatori, Lavorati, and the Barracellato; but which latter is, more properly speaking, a species of armed police.

The militia has existed since the fifteenth century, when all the people were called to arms to oppose the African and other invasions ; and after various changes it is now composed of twelve battalions, of which three fifths are infantry, and the rest cavalry, making a total force of about 10,000 men. Every one, from the age of twenty to sixty, is bound to serve, but they are selected at the recommendation of the authorities of the communes ; their arms are a gun, bayonet, sabre, and knife, which, with a cockade, are only worn on service, and each canton has a distinct costume, the combination of which, when they are assembled together, is very effective. An exemption from any other personal service to the state is their nominal but not real privilege ; and to evade the duty they are obliged to seek some other appointment, such as barracello, &c. They are called out in cases of invasion or disturbance, the cavalry being required to be the first in readiness for any emergency ; they are bound also to assist the regular force in the pursuit of malefactors and banditi, and to conduct them, as well as convicted prisoners, to their place of destination, however distant it may be. This service is generally performed with exactitude, prisoners being seldom known to escape when once consigned to their charge,—a circumstance the more remarkable, as they are often united by the strictest ties of blood and friendship. They are not paid, but obliged to serve gratuitously ; even when they escorted the king during his late tour in the island, they received neither rations nor reward ; and at Alghero they were bivouacked for three days and two nights at great inconvenience and expense in a small space outside the town, there being no room for them within its walls ; and the surrounding country being cultivated, their horses could not be

turned out to feed. Disturbances were anticipated at that time in another part of the island in consequence of the scarcity of corn; arising from a mismanagement in the Monte di Soccorso, and other Government errors; and a gentleman, holding a very high official rank in the corps, assured me there that the men could not be relied on to suppress the outbreak; that as the fault arose from the injustice of the Government, they would not fight against their kindred, and that as their expenses were not paid, they could not be expected to make even a formal show of resistance against the complainants. These feelings, however, do not prevent the development of their innate valor and patriotism; and when roused in the common defence of their country,—especially in the invasion of the French in 1792,—they have not only been obedient to their Government, but have laid aside internal feuds and quarrels, otherwise irreconcilable. La Marmora mentions that men who had already shed, and were waiting to shed the blood of their foes, were seen to leave their ambuscades and retreats, and join hand in hand to avert the national danger; and these wild mountaineers, whose fiery eyes and long beards distinguished them among the other squadrons, marched side by side under the same banner, in defence of their laws whose authority they had braved, and of their capital, where sentence of death had been passed against them. An illustration of these feelings occurred in the camp around Cagliari at the period alluded to, when a peasant suddenly found himself face to face with his deadly foe, and was assailed by him with violent and threatening language. He listened quietly to the insults, and, having stooped down and marked the sign of the cross on the ground,—his form of oath,—he raised himself, and, looking

steadfastly at his aggressor, against whom he had long vowed vendetta, said, "By this cross, and by the cause which unites us, I pardon you for the present; when the enemy shall have left the shores of our King, I will give you my answer."

The regiment of *Cacciatori Guardie*, composed exclusively of Sardes, has been many years established; but since the beginning of the present century has in common with other regiments undergone many changes in the name and in the nature of the service:—such as *Moschettieri di Sardegna*, *Carabinieri Reali*, &c. &c.; the difference and alteration of which are quite insignificant. In 1836 they were reorganised under the name of *Reggimento di Cavalleggeri*, and amount to 675. The *Corpo Franco* is a probational corps for the refuse of the whole army of *Terra ferma*, as well as of the island; it comprehends also a body called the *Guastatori*, composed of men taken from the prisons, whose crimes have not been proved. The force averages about 1500.

Disturbances having arisen in Piedmont in 1838 on account of scarcity, negligence of police, and other causes, 1500 persons were arrested, the greater part were summarily condemned and imprisoned without trial, and about 200 sent as *Guastatori* to Sardinia. Parents often place incorrigible sons in this corps, and on their reformation, after a certain time of expiation for unknown as well as positive offences, they are permitted to return to their families, or to enter another corps called the *Cacciatori Franchi*, or "*corps di rigueur*," from whence they are eventually removed into the regular army. Their allowance is two and a half ounces of soup, and twenty-two ounces of common bread per diem, without either meat, or wine, or any payment.

The Lavoratori Corps, like the Corpo Franco, is composed of men from Terra ferma, and islanders, apprehended solely on suspicion, on the accusation of the Sindichi, the heads of the villages, or the Cavalleggieri, who take the matter into their own hands without any process or public trial. They are sent to Cagliari to work in the Salines and other public departments: their treatment is so severe, that there are many examples of their having committed fresh crimes in order to be sent to the galleys, where, at least, they know the worst extent of their punishment; and a further idea may be formed of the hardships to which they are exposed by the fact, that six persons are engaged at one lira, or ninepence half-penny a day, for the sole purpose of flogging them. None of them have as yet been allowed to return to their country, since the first formation of the corps in 1839, but pass their miserable existence, ignorant why they are there, or when to be released. The Barracellato, an armed force established under the Spanish dominion, is intended to preserve the lands from injury and robbery, and to indemnify proprietors in case of the culprit's escape. Every individual by paying an annual sum proportionate to his means, may safely leave his stock in the open fields, which being in many cases distant from any habitation, renders the services of the Barracelli more necessary. These sums are collected in August and September by the captains of the companies in every village, and by them distributed to their respective corps. They are on duty for a year, are responsible for stolen property, when the loss is declared within three days if in the immediate vicinity, and eight days if at a distance, and for any damage done to the vines or produce, but not for implements of agriculture left in the open fields.



They wear arms during their term of service, but are not in uniform. The corps in its early existence was elected by the people, and defended the public and private rights of the commune; the institution was regarded with pride and attachment, it became one of importance and peril, and as involving heavy responsibility, was evaded as much as possible; but it is now eagerly sought after, as conferring impunity in the practice of every trickery, giving the privilege of wearing arms, so valuable to all classes, ensuring a profit out of the payments of proprietors, and enjoying under the safe screen of office, the power of trampling on the rights and properties of others; and the government by appointing the Barracellato nominates its own tools, and promotes the growth of centralisation and oppression. As a band of false satellites they are frequently in league with the very banditi against whose aggressions they are bound to protect the villagers, suffering them, from a fear of vendetta, to pass unmolested between the villages and their strong-holds. They connive at, and even participate in, their depredations and extortions, increasing thereby instead of compensating for the losses sustained, and then with equal effrontery extort a reward for their boasted "security of property." Regardless of the applications of injured parties, they make use of every subterfuge to elude their just demands, and responsibility of the loss; so that the whole system is resolved into the expressive words of the Padre Anjius: "Si perde, si cavilla, si litiga, e chi ha perduto, ha perduto."

The substitution, in 1819, of the Moschettieri, a military police, in the stead of the Barracellato, was the cause of a violent outbreak of popular feeling against the government. The chiefs of the villages of Gallura, long

accustomed to the exercise of a sort of patriarchal authority, assembled at the popular festa of San Paolo, at Tempio, to demand their own nomination of the Baracelleria, with its ancient privileges, and some other concessions,—such as a pardon for those under the ban of the law, a free right of carrying arms, and a reduction of the tribute to its original sum. The refusal of these demands produced a general rebellion, and an open and successful war against the government; and the conciliatory measures then adopted being only temporary, a further insurrection broke out, and did not terminate till some of their claims were satisfied.

Excellent as the original intention of this institution of Baracellati may have been, the abuses and mal-administration in its present state, make it a scourge rather than a blessing to the people.

The total number of regular troops from Piedmont, including the artillery, is about 2,200; and the Sardes supply one regiment for continental service.

One of the many good acts of Carlo Felice, at Cagliari, was the conversion of the monastery of San Lucifero, in the year 1827, to its present purpose, a Male Orphan Asylum. There is accommodation for twenty admitted gratuitously, supported by government funds of 22,000 lire nove, or 880*l.* per annum, and for twenty-two who pay twelve lire nove, or 9*s.* 7*d.* per month; the children are brought up to different trades, but the institution does not succeed as satisfactorily as was anticipated, and is in a very inferior state when compared to those of other countries. The Female Orphan Asylum, the Conservatorio della Provvidenza, was founded in 1751, increased by Carlo Felice, and transferred in 1833 to the building which was the Reale Collegio dei Nobili. It provides for forty girls gra-

tuitously, and a few pensioners at sixty scudi, or 11*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* per annum, who are taught weaving, spinning, and other useful employments; and a share in the profits is accumulated for them till they leave the institution, when, if they have maintained a good character, a premium of 100 scudi, or 19*l.* 4*s.* is added. The establishment is on the whole much more prosperous and better conducted than that of San Lucifero. There is also a school for the education of the daughters of poor military men, constituted on a similar plan to that of the Confraternità del S.S. Sudario at Turin; but its number is very limited. The funds for the two Asylums for the Trovatelli or Foundlings, are insufficient to meet the necessary expenses, and as the depositor of the child has to pay only two lire nove; or 1*s.* 7½*d.* per month, the state of wretchedness and misery of the establishment is easily accounted for. I could not obtain the number of those who have been admitted and have died within its walls, during the last ten years; but from 1825 to 1834, out of the 810 received, 473 perished. The number admitted bears no reference to the positive number of illegitimate children in Cagliari, for whatever may have been the immorality of the mothers, they yet have too tender a regard for their offspring to trust them to the inhumanity of the public asylums.

The hospitals are neither in proportion to the demands of the town, to its means of support, nor to be compared with those of similarly sized cities. The Spedale Civico was assigned in 1636 to the care of the religious fraternity of San Giovanni di Dio, who still preside over it. Twenty-four male and fourteen female patients were lying in their respective wards, without any regard to the nature of their complaints, and the

poverty and distress added much to the impurities of the air arising from the mixture of the diseases. Without offering any remarks on the medical treatment, the total want of cleanliness and comfort may be instanced by a circumstance which occurred a few days previous to my visit there. The new Viceroy having intimated his intention of examining it, the whole establishment was cleaned up, and so arranged that on a superficial survey he had neither cause for blame nor praise; but with a curiosity no less laudable to himself than unfortunate to the Ospitalieri di San Giovanni di Dio, he desired to see the linen. A considerable delay ensuing in its production, his suspicions were aroused, and insisting on an immediate compliance with his orders, two pair of sheets were brought forth. Imagining they were only produced as specimens, he desired to see the whole stock, and the mystery could then be no longer kept up. They proved to be the only extra sheets of the hospital, and that the patients, when clean ones were required, were obliged to go without any while those which were dirty were being washed! The Viceroy most creditably gave a severe lecture to the fraternity and parties connected with the establishment, and declared his intention of investigating the matter. In the ward, or, to speak more correctly, in the condemned cells appropriated to the insane, were two males and one female, perfectly quiet, and, as was acknowledged, not requiring compulsory means to make them obedient, or refusing and resisting comfort or assistance. But a worn-out, wet straw bag, miscalled a mattress, was the only furniture of the dungeon; one had a filthy cover lidthrown over him; the other was without any covering, except a pair of coarse drawers round his hips. While in conversation with one of them, perceiving he

was very ill, I asked him his ailments, and he replied that he had been so for many hours, but could make no one hear his cries, though he had continually called for assistance. The reverend guardian who accompanied me seemed much surprised at my credulity, but was at length persuaded to call in the medical attendant with whom I had just been the rounds of the other wards, and my suspicions were justified by the remedies which were immediately applied. Had it not thus been for a stranger's accidental visit, no notice would have been taken of him, as they are only visited twice a day. A broken and useless shutter served for a window to their cell, and to their wretched existence in filth and neglect is added every harshness by chains and punishments, the tender care and mild treatment adopted by civilised countries being not yet introduced. No language or description can convey an idea of its horrors, and, with the exception of the prison for the insane at Adrianople, I have never witnessed such scenes as are to be met with in Sardinia; in fact, if anything could add to the miseries of madness, it would be being a Sarde lunatic. The Manicomio or hospital for the insane at Turin is in a very creditable state, and it would be well if the Piedmontese government would extend its boasted parental care to this portion of its dominions.

This Spedale Civico is nominally under the superintendence of the Archbishop; but the administration of the affairs, with the command of the finances, was gradually consigned to the hands of St. Giovanni's disciples; and the trust confided to them seems to have been placed with as much discretion and credit as it has been used. Two years ago the principal agent and manager of the finances decamped with a large sum, and as it diminished the comforts of the fraternity as

well as of the hospital, more attention has been paid to pecuniary matters, in which the superfluous two pair of sheets are an evidence of their zeal, economy, and retrenchment. The funds of the institution arise from gifts and bequests to the annual amount of 30,000 lire nove, or 1200*l.*, besides allowances, contributions, and various other supplies ; and, from the current report of their application, it is quite clear that the religious guardians, though perfectly above all suspicion of neglect in the maintaining their own private interests and comforts, are as incompetent to attend to the physical as they are to the moral ills of their fellow-creatures. In reference to the archbishop's authority over the institution, if he were to look among the archives of the history of his diocese, he might find a brief issued by Gregory the Great in the year 604, charging the then Archbishop of Cagliari with a neglect of attention to the hospitals. It almost seems one of the inheritances by apostolical succession !

The Hospital of St. Pancrazio, for sick prisoners, is capable of holding eighteen males and six females, and their treatment in the hospital is only to be compared with that in their prison.

It was most gratifying, after witnessing the above painful exhibitions, to see the cleanliness and good order of the Military Hospital, in a building which was formerly a monastery of Osservanti monks. Ninety-eight patients were subdivided into various wards according to their diseases ; an air of comfort and content was depicted on their countenances, unknown in the other hospitals ; the sisters of charity were busily employed in their good and useful offices, and the whole of the arrangement was excellent and highly creditable. In the course of six years and three months, since its

institution, it has received 211,000 lire nove, or 8440*l.*, and expended 188,000 *l. n.*, or 7620*l.*, leaving a balance 23,000 *l. n.*, or 920*l.*, besides an income of about 38,000 *l. n.*, or 1620*l.*; the patients contributing a portion of their pay, and the government supplying the deficiency. The medium number of patients during the six years has been 103, a small average in proportion to the garrison of the town.

There are several other minor charitable institutions for the relief of the poor and distressed, but so mismanaged, that the beneficial intentions of the founders are frustrated.

Carlo Emanuele IV. established in 1798, in commemoration of the repulse of the French, a fund of 1500 scudi, about 288*l.*, to be divided in dowries for twenty-four maidens on their marriage, and it was subsequently converted into pensions for widows of military and official functionaries.

The present king has also given from his private purse a small sum towards the support of those who from illness are unable to obtain a livelihood; but the example does not seem to be followed voluntarily, and regularly established poor-rates are unknown.

Though the Cagliariitani may not contribute much towards a general fund, in the disposal of which they would not have a voice, there are several private charitable societies, such as the *Associazione del Monte*, that of the *S. S. Sepolcro*, and others composed of the highest ranks. The members of the former visit the prisons and assist the incarcerated victims, while those of the latter attend to the private wants of the needy in their sickness, and in defraying the expenses of funerals. It appears from statistical inquiry, that 450 persons in the town receive annually relief from charit-

able funds, which, in the population of 29,000, would be about one in every sixty-four and a-half; but in a previous statement of the number of ecclesiastical persons supported by the community, we have found one in every thirty persons, so that they are more than double the poor who receive assistance. A public cemetery was made in 1828, on the west side of the Monreale hill, on the calculation of 450 interments annually, and that, at the expiration of six years, the bodies would have been sufficiently decomposed to allow a fresh series of burials in the same graves; but the mortality has been greater and the decomposition less than was anticipated. Though insufficient for the purpose, this cemetery is neatly arranged, and has, besides the graves, rows of raised tombs, which are private property.



## CHAPTER IV.

**Law Courts.**—General View of the Past and Present Political and Juridical State of the Island.—The Stamenti, or Parliament.—Its Convocation.—The Donativo.—Policy of the House of Savoy.—Lord Nelson's Observations compared with Manno's.—Roman Basis of the Laws.—The Carta di Logu.—Abuses and Confusion under the Aragon Dominion.—Reforms and subsequent Absolutism under the House of Savoy.—Subversion of Feudalism.—Functions of Viceroy.—Salary.—Anecdote.—Short Tenure of Office.—Anecdotes.—Chancellor.—Judges and Law Courts.—Salaries.—The Real Udienza.—Prefectures.—Minor Courts and Officers.—The Giudici di Mandamento.—Their Powers and Misuse.—Secrecy of Trial.—Alterations of Depositions.—Anecdotes.—Imprisonment of Witnesses.—Impunity of Crime and Corruption of Evidence.—Anecdotes of Delay in Trial and Sentence.—Opinion of a Sarde Judge.—Complaint of Appointment of Piedmontese to Sarde Offices.—Necessitous Condition of the Judges.—Anecdote.—Daring of the Fuorusciti.—Anecdotes.—Sismondi's Observations.—Torture now abolished.—Pardons.—Ceremony at Easter.—The Bar and Attorneys.—Remark of the Giudicessa Eleonora.—Fees.—The Courts.—The Prison.—Detentions.—Underground Cells.—Galley Slaves.—Port and Mole.—Roadstead.—Lazaretto.—Dogana.—Shipping.—Commerce and Trade of the Island.—Exports and Imports.—Duties.—Secrecy of Returns.—The Budget.—Royal Monopolies.—Mechanical Employments of the Cagliariitani.—Grain Markets.—Provisions.—Wines.—The Wells.—Dearness of Water.—The Roman Aqueduct.—The Saline.—Produce and Price of Salt

It may be well to mention the municipal and political institutions, and the law-courts of the capital, in connection with a few general remarks on the prin-

ciples and form of Government, and the nature of the administration of the laws throughout the whole island.

Their former condition may be adverted to, especially in reference to the *Stamenti* or *Sarde* Parliament, and the reader is referred to an article on the "*Giudici*" in the Appendix, for the political state of the island anterior to the arrival of the Genoese and Pisans; but, as these Republics do not appear to have engrafted much on the previously existing laws, we may commence with the system of Government introduced and established by the Aragon dynasty. Don Pedro IV. was the first king of Aragon and Sardinia, who convoked representatives from different parts of the island to deliberate on national affairs, in 1355; but the Corte does not appear to have been regularly constituted till his successor, Alfonso V., when visiting Cagliari in 1421, instituted a formal assembly, in which an alteration of laws and agreements between the Sovereign and people were arranged, based on the principles of the Catalonian Cortes, which were then flourishing in full vigor of liberty.\*

The assembly was composed of three orders, or "*Stamenti*," the "*ecclesiastico*," "*militare*," and "*reale*;" the first comprised the dignitaries of the Cathedrals, the abbots and priors; the second, the nobles and gentry above the age of twenty-one; and the last, the representatives chosen from each city; which three, when assembled, were termed *Bracchi*,—

\* *Vide* The "*Fueros y observancias del Reyno de Aragon*," and "*Zurita, Anales de Aragon*," especially those of Diego II., 1325, in which, as Robertson observes, "not only the privileges of the nobility, but the rights of the people, personal as well as political, were at that period more extensive and better understood than in any kingdom in Europe."

the arms of the whole body,—and formed a species of parliament under the name of “Corte generale,” or “Curia del Regno;” but the terms Cortes and Parliaments should not be confounded, for the former embraced all matters relative to the administration of the State, while the latter were only convoked for special purposes. The convoking depended on the King or Viceroy, though the *Stamento militare* had the power of assembling themselves independently whenever they chose, for to them was chiefly entrusted the representation to the King of matters of emergency, as well as the executive part of the enactments of the united *Stamenti*.

The Corte was regularly assembled every ten years at Cagliari, and as often in the interim as was necessary, by a circular notice from the King to all the members, stating that the public service required a general meeting; and, having nominated his Viceroy president, the latter fixed the day, and proceeded with the united *Stamenti* in grand procession to the Cathedral, where, seated on a throne, surrounded by his ministers, he announced the intention and wishes of the King relative to the sessions. The Archbishop, designated as “*prima voce*,” having announced, in the name of the whole Corte, that they were ready to co-operate with the King in all measures of public benefit, the assembly then separated; the *Stamento “ecclesiastico”* retiring to their council chamber in the Archbishop’s palace, or in the sacristy of the Cathedral; the “*reale*” to the civic palace, and the “*militare*” to the church of St. Speranza.

In their distinct deliberations they communicated with each other and with the Viceroy, by two deputies chosen from among themselves; but he who was charged with the message could not reply to the re-

marks and answer of the braccio, as that privilege and etiquette devolved on his colleague, and, previous to their discussions, certain officers were elected, called *Abilitatori*, *Provvisori*, and *Trattatori*; half of whom were nominated by the Viceroy, and the other half by the *Stamenti*. The *Abilitatori*, six in number, examined into the validity of the claims of admission to the Corte made by any new member; the eighteen *Provvisori* decided in cases of extortion or injustice alleged against any officer of the Government, by either the *Stamenti* themselves, or by private individual complaint; the sixteen *Trattatori* were a committee of finance to regulate the public expenses; and, of these three sets of officers, the duties of the *Provvisori* were of primary importance, as no enactments could be passed or even discussed before the complaints against the Government authorities had been settled.

The first subject of debate was the fixing and offering the "*donativo*,"—literally a voluntary gift, but virtually the annual tribute to the royal treasury, the amount of which was open to free discussion in the separate *Stamenti*, and the decision on each depended on the majority of votes; but the sum being agreed upon, the chief of each *Stamento* presented the unanimous decision to the Viceroy, and his acceptance had the validity of a formal law, except the *donativo* granted by the *Stamento ecclesiastico*, which was not valid till approved of by the Pope. The other matters of business were transacted in a similar manner, and the enactments having been written and despatched to the King, the Corte closed its sessions with the same ceremonies as those with which it was opened.\*

\* For further details, vide Dexart's Introduction to the "*Capitula sive Acta Curiarum regni Sardiniae*," vol. i. pp. 14, 19.

During a period of 344 years from the first Parliament in 1355, to the last in which its full powers are recognisable, in the year 1699, under the Count Montelliano, the Viceroy of Carlos II., King of Spain, only seventeen were held,—which would be about once in every twenty years.

After the transfer of Sardinia from the Aragon to the Savoy crown in 1720, Vittorio Amadeo II., nominally appealed to the Stamenti for an extraordinary donation and obtained it without convoking them or recognising their power of refusing it; and on their subsequently, in 1728, demanding a general Corte, he refused it on the grounds of inconvenience.

On the breaking out of the first French revolution several attempts to establish one were again made; but owing to internal differences and jealousies among themselves on some of the measures intended to be proposed, no union of the Stamenti was effected; and even on their separate propositions the government always found a pretext to nullify their endeavors, except on the call for the donativo, so that the precedent given by Vittorio Amadeo II. was adopted by succeeding monarchs, and no Corte has ever been virtually held since Sardinia belonged to Savoy. From time to time the Sardes voluntarily offered, independently of the fixed tribute, an extraordinary donativo to meet emergencies; but the powers of the Corte by non-usage ceased to exist, and though the mere name is to a certain extent still kept up, the mockery of application to the Stamenti is only made to enforce this compulsory donation with which the Sardes have nothing to do but pay it passively and appear thankful for the favor. Lord Nelson thus expressed himself in a letter to the British Government on this subject, dated November 3rd, 1804.

“Sardinia, if it be possible, becomes every day in greater misery. The Stamenti which is formed of proportions of the nobles, clergy, and the people, have dismissed themselves. They were summoned to meet in June or July; the two first classes met, but the number of the last class did not arrive until the Viceroy had opened the sessions, when instead of conciliating and promising to assist them in the formation of such regulations as might benefit the island, he stated at once the distresses of the government, and asked for one million of dollars. The last class finding that nothing was wanted of them but money, never filled up the legal numbers. The clergy and nobles agreed to the demand; but the meeting not being legal, no money could be raised. Yet as the clergy and nobles had consented to the supply, 50 or 60,000 dollars had been squeezed out of them; not one farthing of which has gone to the real wants of the island. The clergy and nobles are now, I hear, very much disgusted at being forced to pay this money, whilst the people pay nothing. This is the present state of Sardinia;—it cannot last.”

Together with the Stamenti, the scrutiny of the Abilitatori, Provvisori and Trattatori, though more than ever requisite, are now unheard of, and the government officers are responsible only to the sovereign, from whom every measure proceeds.

Nearly twenty years ago, Manno\* in a very different tone to that of Nelson, thus spoke of the institution and maintenance of this venerable form of government. “In such manner the ordinary assemblies of our parliaments were conducted. The wisdom with which the Sarde nation, contented with its acknowledged

\* Vol. iii. p. 189.

rights, never sought by any means to change the nature of its constitution, caused the principles of the political legislation of the island to be always recognised and appreciated under the successive governments of the sovereign of Castile, as well as during the short dominion of the House of Austria, and in the auspicious sovereignty of the Savoy dynasty."

Were that learned historian to publish another edition of his work, with his pen unfettered by the Turin censorship, he would probably express a different opinion.

The Roman law appears to have been in force up to the eleventh century, though modified by, and amalgamated with others peculiar to the island; and it was the basis also on which the Papal See, the Pisans and Genoese grafted their peculiar enactments according to the times and circumstances of their respective preponderance. But the earliest national code, written in the Sarde language, was the *Carta di Logu*, commenced by Mariano, Giudice of Arborea, finished and promulgated by his daughter the Giudicessa Eleanora in the year 1395; and, as we have previously seen, was a charter for her own peculiar dominion, but so excellent that it was subsequently adopted by the other Giudicati. Twenty-six years afterwards in 1421, Don Alfonso V., of Aragon, on instituting the *Corte Generale* at Cagliari, introduced the laws then used by the Cortes of Catalonia; which, with some requisite alterations and additions to the *Carta di Logu*, were passed by the three *Stamenti* and became the general law of the whole island, under the name of *Capitoli di Corte*. The best edition of them is by Dexart, in two volumes, published at Cagliari.

After the lapse of 212 years, Philip IV. of Spain

promulgated, in 1633, a new code, called "*Las Leyes y Pragmaticas Reales del Reyño de Sardeña*," founded on the previous laws, and according to the demands of the Sardes made at that time. They were published with a learned commentary by Don Francesco Vico, at Sassari, in 1781, and such was their liberal basis and constitutional character that they were, and still are, among the prohibited books in the Papal states; the principles of a mixed form of government, the freedom of debate in the Cortes, and the balance of power, being tempered by restrictions so reasonable, that they will bear a comparison with the freest institutions of that age.

Toward the close of seventeenth century, Spain had become involved in diplomacy and wars of such importance that Sardinia was comparatively neglected; the rule of the Viceroys had become arbitrary in proportion to the indifference of their royal masters; disorder and confusion existed in all departments; the chances of impunity produced reckless and injurious licences in their administration, and while the disease, ramifying in every direction, undermined the whole constitution, its effects were no less visible in the moral condition of the people. Contempt and defiance of the laws had arisen from their impotence and inefficiency; and the principles of a liberal constitution, which the country had hitherto possessed with safety and moderation, were now, from their anarchical excess, as dangerous to the people themselves as to their sovereign. Self-will and vendetta were the substitutes for order and justice; and though these poisonous plants had existed many years previously, their seed, then scattered in all directions by the wind of neglect, and watered by the storms of strife, now brought forth fruit an hundred fold wherever it fell. While these evils were increased by the confusion attending



the short dominion of the Austrian crown, and by the contests of Spain with that power, the public example of the dishonorable political intrigues which occurred at that period, tended to instil perfidy into all ranks; the deplorable state of the island when ceded by the treaty of London to the Savoy dynasty may therefore be easily imagined. Vittorio Amadeo saw the necessity of a prompt eradication of these evils; and both he and his successors, from time to time, effected many beneficial changes and reforms; but a general approval can by no means be conceded by those who enjoy a form of government totally different to that of the Dukes of Savoy. As a despotic monarchy it cannot be supposed that they would sanction in an appanage of the crown a political system different to that of their other dominions. The transition from a representative form to an autocracy was therefore to be effected; the laws of the island were modified and increased by various enactments, called *Editti* and *Pregoni* (from the Latin *Præco*—the public crier), the former emanating from the Sovereign, and the latter from the Viceroy, and only in force during his tenure of office. These, by command of Vittorio Amadeo III., were collected into one body, and published at Cagliari in 1775, under the title of “*Editti, Pregoni, ed altri provvedimenti emanati pel regno di Sardegna, dappoiche passò sotto la dominazione della real casa di Savoia.*”

The new laws and alterations became so numerous that Carlo Felice found it necessary, in 1827, to revise, condense, and unite them in one collection, under the name of “*Leggi civili e criminali del Regno di Sardegna, raccolte e pubblicate per ordine di S. S. R. M. il Re Carlo Felice.*”

The present monarch has carried out the principles

of his predecessors to the fullest extent by the annihilation of the Stamenti, the suppression of the feudal system, and the substitution of centralisation. The first of these measures was not accomplished by a specific enactment, but by the silent and gradual grasp of the absolute hand,—with a pressure so cautious that the weight of the chains it was winding was at first but slightly perceptible ; and Savoy has by these means effected what Austria cannot do with the Hungarian Diet, what Sweden dares not try in the Norway Storting, and what Russia has forced on what was once Poland, by banishment and bloodshed. The subversion of the Feudal System is elsewhere mentioned ;\* and the new code of legislation, and the arrangement of public departments by the present monarch, promulgated in an Editto of July 27, 1838, may now be analysed, commencing with the office of Viceroy, which was instituted by the Aragon crown, in 1823. 131 individuals held it during that dominion of 395 years ; or about one in every three years,—and from 1720 till 1840, the 120 years under the Savoy dynasty, there have been 35 Viceroys, or about one in every three years and a-half. In the early periods he was called captain-general, as chief of all the forces of the island ; but the power of lieutenant-general, as head of the civil and judicial administration, was subsequently combined with it, and both are now united under his present title, with the same forms and honors paid to him as to royalty. The appointment is held for three years, and his successor cannot assume his office till he has quitted Cagliari, which generally occurs on the third day after the arrival of the new Viceroy, from which period he is not allowed to remain in the town ; and it

\* *Vide* Appendix.

has happened, that, being unable to depart on account of bad weather, he has been obliged to stay at a convent outside the walls. But these customs, derived from the Spanish system of etiquette, which never permitted the two Viceroys to see or have communication with each other, are now falling into disuse.

In assuming the royal authority, he goes through the old formalities of swearing in the presence of the chief personages in the cathedral at Cagliari, to observe and maintain all the laws, customs, and usages of the country; an oath, which in the present state of absolute monarchy, must necessarily be more honored in the breach than in the observance.

In case of absence,—for he cannot even leave Cagliari without permission from Turin,—he takes with him a sealed letter, to be opened in case of his death, containing the name of the person charged to succeed him till a fresh appointment is made; and should it happen that the office is vacant, the power is vested in the “*Reggente della Real Cancellaria*” and the Ministers of the *Reale Udienza*. Sometimes the Viceroy has only the nominal appointment, and is neither sworn in nor invested with the customary rights and privileges; and in such case he is only “*incaricato*” (charged) with the office.

A military and civil secretary form the diplomatic part of his suite, besides the usual retinue of aides-de-camp and private secretaries, &c.

As chief magistrate he has the right of presiding over all tribunals, but it is rarely used, except in cases of great importance; and he exercises his prerogative of conferring pardon on whom he pleases twice a year, though he can do so equally at other times.

His salary, which consisted formerly of small con-

tributions from different sources, such as taxes, dues, and tribute, in kind as well as in money, was changed by Carlo Felice in 1821 ; and, in lieu of all such payments, he receives a fixed stipend of 60,000 lire nove, or 2,400*l.* per annum, besides a palace furnished, and sundry items. Though, according to the law, the salary never commenced till he had duly taken the oath, in the last appointment that form has been waived ; but when his predecessor was nominated to the office, it is said, that a friend recommended him, after his residence for a short time at Cagliari, to be sworn in, as he could not receive the money until he had done so. “How,” said he, “not be paid, though I have the sovereign’s appointment? Ave Maria purissima ! then, I’ll take any oath they please to-morrow morning ;” and he did so.

In representative governments, where a change of ministry entails one of functionaries, frequent changes of the Viceroys are inevitable ; but in the absolutism of the Savoy dynasty, where no removal is requisite, but at the will and pleasure of the sovereign, the policy of their short tenure of office must be based on other motives—such as their misconduct, incapacity, the number of Piedmontese, Savoyards, and Sardes, whose services to their sovereign require some requital or repayment (without reference to their capabilities for so important a post), or to the fear lest their administration might become too liberal ; and examples prove that these are heavy weights in the balance against the prolongation of the term.

One of the many evils arising from the shortness of the duration of their power is the confusion of “*Pre-goni*,” or enactments issued during their administration ; for the Viceroy of to-day revokes many made by his

predecessor of yesterday ; his successor on the morrow, in differing from both in their policy, and in adopting his own, negatives and stultifies the antecedent Pregoni, and thus the necessity of their confirmation or rejection by the sovereign only makes confusion worse confounded. An examination of these ordinances will confirm this statement ; the greater part of them having the clause, to “repeal so much of an act passed,” &c., by his predecessors ; and, thus circumscribed in carrying out or giving a fair trial to a measure, the true and broad principles of diplomacy, politics, and government,—the legislating with foresight and anticipation—are not, and cannot be adopted.

In 1840, a Pregone of great importance, called a Circolare, was issued by the Viceroy, the Conte De Asarta, in terms highly condemnatory of the acts of his predecessor, the Cavaliere Montiglio, whose conduct during his administration had been so satisfactory that the King gave him the “Annunciata”—the highest order of merit ; nevertheless, this Circolare was allowed to be registered among the archives and have its full force, becoming thereby a direct censure on him. When he was informed of this denunciation of his conduct, he was unable, from illness, to execute his intention of going to the King, and laying the order at his feet ; but so bitterly did it affect him, that it hastened his death, and his dying words were, “O ! che Rè !”

The uncertain tenure of office is no less inconvenient in their private relations of life,—of which an instance occurred in 1843, to the Conte de Asarta, who was then only “incaricato” and nominal Viceroy ; but having held that appointment for some time, he had every reason to expect, from the indirect intimation which had been given him, to be formally installed. Feeling confident

that the honor would be conferred on him by the King, who was then daily expected in the island, he took the precaution of ordering from the continent a viceregal uniform ; and while at Sassari, on his route to meet and wait on his Sovereign, the periodical steamer arrived at Port Torres from Genoa. He immediately sent for his dress, but instead of receiving a box of exquisitely-brocaded garments, and customary suits of show, the messenger brought merely a few despatches, in which no tailor's letter, accounting for the non-arrival of the dress, greeted his eyes, but a simple and official notice of the appointment of General Cornuto, as full Viceroy, and that he would accompany the King from Genoa in his intended visit, immediately to assume his authority. The Count De Asarta was staying with the Archbishop of Sassari, with whom I happened to dine on that day, and sitting next to him, opportunities occurred in the course of conversation of seeing how deeply he felt aggrieved at so precipitate a recall by his Sovereign.

The Reggente della real Cancelleria, or Chancellor, is the highest authority after the Viceroy. The office was founded by Ferdinand II., in 1661, as an assistance, and, at the same time, a counterbalance to the Viceroys, who for 160 years had generally been military men. The Reggente superintends all judicial and political matters, co-operates with the Viceroy, and acts in every department except the military and ecclesiastical ; but though these officials are the responsible ministers in the island, the Sovereign has with him at Turin a "Supremo Consiglio," instituted by Vittorio Amadeo, in 1726, and composed of a "Reggente di Toga," an "Avvocato Fiscale," a secretary, two councilors, and a few members chosen at the King's pleasure,

who unitedly have the superintendence, of all matters connected with the island, and form the highest court of appeal. The "Reale Udienza" at Cagliari, the highest tribunal is nominally presided over by the Viceroy, but virtually by the Reggente della real Cancelleria; eighteen judges, appointed by the King, form the council, which is supposed to be co-equal with the Supremo Consiglio; it is divided into three courts, two civil and one criminal, called the "Real Consiglio," in each of which, six judges preside. As royal councillors, they have the title of Don, and though their salary is small, their fees and indirect profits are considerable in proportion to it.

The salary of the Reggente at Cagliari is 360*l.* sterling per annum, with about 280*l.* in fees; the Presidents of the Courts, 140*l.*, and about 82*l.* in fees; a Judge of the Criminal Court, 106*l.*, and 80*l.* in fees; a Judge of the Civil Court, 82*l.*, with about the same amount in fees; the *Avvocato-Generale*, the *Avvocato*, and *Procuratore-Fiscale*, 200*l.*, and 100*l.* in fees; the *Avvocato dei Poveri*, 92*l.*, and fees about 108*l.*

The auditors, secretaries, deputies, and employés belonging to the courts, form altogether a corps of sixty-five persons; and their united salaries and fees, from the Reggente at 640*l.*, to the underwriter at 24*l.*,—the highest and lowest,—amount to about 4500*l.*; so that their average pay is not 70*l.* per annum. That of the officers of the Sassari tribunals is about one-third less than those of Cagliari.

The *Avvocato-Generale* and *Avvocato-Fiscale*, on whom depend the prosecutions, arrests, and obtaining proof of guilt or innocence, declare the law on all circumstances, assist the decision of the Judges, attend to the administration of the royal ordinances, and take

cognisance of ecclesiastical abuses and financial litigations. An *Avvocato* and *Procuratore dei Poveri* have the gratuitous defence of the poor when demanded, but their services are not much called on ; and appeals can be made from the sentence of the Criminal Court to the Civil Court, and from the Civil to the two united Courts, if the matter of litigation exceeds 500 lire nove, or 20*l.* ; or to the *Supremo Consiglio*, if it is more than three times that amount.

In the provinces are six *Prefetture* and eighty-five “*Tribunali di Mandamento*,” or District Courts, independently of those of Sassari, each *Prefettura* consisting of a *Prefect*, four *Magistrates*, with two extra in case of their absence, an *Avvocato* and *Procuratore-Fiscale*, or Government attorney and solicitor ; an attorney and advocate for the poor, and a secretary, with his assistants, whose united salaries amount to 8300 lire nove, or about 332*l.* sterling. The *Prefect* resides in the principal town of his jurisdiction ; and from this tribunal, similar in form to the “*Tribunal de première Instance*” of the French, appeals can be made to the *Real Udienza*, when the sum is more than 300 lire nove, 12*l.*, in the civil litigations, and more than a year’s imprisonment, or fine of the same amount, in criminal matters.

The *Tribunale di Mandamento* consists of a Judge and two law-officers (similar to the *Juges de Paix* in France), from whence appeals can be carried to the *Prefettura*, in civil matters above forty-eight lire nove, or about 1*l.* 18*s.* 4*½d.*, and above the same sum, or five days’ imprisonment, in criminal cases.

Both these tribunals take cognisance of matters solely within their districts.

Before the abolition of the feudal system, the resi-



dent Sarde barons had each his own magistrate to preside over his own courts,—a privilege which, however, was not possessed by the foreign feudal chiefs; and in their despotic power they were guilty of every excess, and only increased the evil they were appointed to correct.\*

The “Capo di Sopra,” or province of Logudoro, has a separate jurisdiction, called the “Reale Governance del Logudoro,” and presided over by the Governor of Sassari in that capital, though it is to a certain extent dependent on that of the “Capo di Sotto,” or province of Cagliari; its constitution and functions being the same as those of the Reale Udienza, to which it imparts all matters connected with Government and the administration of the law, and to which, as well as to the Supremo Consiglio, appeals may be made.†

\* *Vide* article on Feudalism.

† The Intendente generale, or minister of finance, is independent of these and all other authorities, and, in case of any difference of opinion between him and the viceroy, the sovereign is the sole referee. Subservient to him are Intendenti of the eleven provinces, namely, Cagliari, Busachi, Iglesias, Isili, Lanusei, Nuoro, Sassari, Alghero, Cuglieri, Ozieri and Gallura, and these are again subdivided into thirty-two districts, which offices were instituted by Vittorio Emmanuele, in 1807, but reduced in number and form in 1821. The Tribunale del Patrimonio, or Court of Royal Dues has been merged into that of the Intendenza, which now has the administration of the revenue, customs, and taxes, with the settlement of any disputes arising out of them, all statistical matters, the rental of public lands, all agricultural, industrial, and economic arrangements, and the inspection of public buildings.

The treasurer-general and sub-treasurers of the provinces co-operate with, but are subservient to, the Intendenze.

Cagliari, Sassari, Alghero, Bosa, Iglesias, Oristano, Ozieri, Tempio, Nuoro, and Castel Sardo,—the ten principal cities,—have a

In reference to the administration of the law, one of the several instances in which, by the favor of a friend, I had an opportunity of examining the papers, and of thereby obtaining some details of the system, was a civil action by a son against his father for the nonfulfilment of an engagement to allow him about 25*l.* sterling per annum; and having been tried at Sassari, this appeal, now carried up to the Reale Udienza at Cagliari, consisted of about 700 very closely-written pages, containing a valuation of the father's property, copies of the correspondence, and a multitude of documents, the whole substance of which could not, even in an English

consiglio civico, or town council, composed of syndics and councillors, divided into two classes, the noblesse and towns-people. Their functions are annual, their election taking place on the 15th December, and their assumption of office on the 1st January. This *Sindicatura*, or corporation, is again divided into a general and particular council; the former is composed of both classes, and assembles four times a year to attend to the administration of the funds and the affairs of the town, and on other occasions when commanded. The particular council, which is elected from the general, has its respective charges, such as the *Proveditore*, or inspection of eatables, and the octroi duties; the *Edile* who looks after the general state of the buildings; the *Raggioniere*, who keeps the accounts, the *Padre, degli Orfani*, or guardian of orphans and bastards, and a *Vicario*, who superintends the police and the weights and measures.

None of the members can be elected without the sanction of the Viceroy, and all their acts are subject to his will and pleasure. Previous to the year 1836, the *Consiglio civico* retained some portion of their rights, privileges, liberties, and the arrangement of their own affairs, which they had enjoyed from the commencement of the Aragon dominion,—the guarantee of which was one of the articles insisted on by the *Giudicessa Eleonora*, in her treaty of peace with the King of Aragon, in 1388. A reform of their abuses and inutility was certainly necessary, but the opposite extreme of legislation was adopted in the royal Corporation Act of

court of law, have been worked up to 100 folios. There were twenty-four witnesses on one side, and twenty-five on the other ; the parties were willing to come to an amicable termination of the suit, as the action had been pending nearly four years, but, the father's property being valued at about 6500*l.*, there was every chance of the law feeding on so good a dish for four years longer. In litigations it is said to be difficult to decide whether the loser or gainer of the suit is the most injured by the decision. The certainty, however, that in the end the Judge is more benefited than either of the litigants, realises their proverb relative to the law-suits of

the year 1836, when a system of centralisation was effected, totally destructive of the object of the institution, and to such an extent, that the nominal form and a gay costume are the only relics of their former independence. The inefficient administration of the different offices is much complained of, the appointments being made by government interest and favor.

The 368 communes into which the island is divided, have also each a municipal council similar in its principles to the civic, but composed of from three to seven members, according to the population, with a president, called the *Syndico*.

Among the minor courts, the *Tribunale Apostolico* is the highest ecclesiastical convocation, and is confirmed every five years by a Papal brief. Appeals from the Court of Archbishops and Bishops, are made to it ; but the litigations and differences between church and state and other minor ecclesiastical matters are settled in an inferior tribunal, called the "*Cancellaria Apostolica e regia*."

The administration of military affairs is vested in the Viceroy and the "*Capitanía generale*,"—a court which takes cognisance of all matters connected with the land forces, and has the same power in maritime affairs as the Admiralty at Genoa ; and the *Tribunale del Consolato* is composed of a president, two judges, two consuls, and a secretary, who superintend all matters connected with commerce, exchange, trade, manufactures, and shipping.

heirs and successors ; as when, for instance, four heirs dispute about an inheritance, “Avrete il quinto ed il più ricco erede nel Giudice.”—“ You will have a fifth and richest heir in the Judge.”

The fixed salary of the “Giudici di Mandamento,”—the Judges of the district,—was taken away on the abolition of the feudal system in 1836 ; and they are now obliged to live entirely on the uncertain profits arising from fees fixed by a tariff in the Editto of the 27th July 1838,—of so low a standard that the most profitable of the Mandamenti scarcely yields enough for the Judge’s maintenance. The aspirants to the office are mostly an impoverished class, who, having no other means of obtaining a livelihood, grasp at this chance of a miserable pittance : hence a continual conflict ensues in their straitened position, between the necessity of procuring a subsistence by their fees in the prolongation of a suit, and the faithful discharge of their duty in settling it by the simplest process.

The criminal courts, by their tacit and clandestine operation, have the command over the honor, liberty, and life of every one who has the misfortune to be mixed up with any prosecution or defence ; and this iniquitous power furnishes the Judges with another means of obtaining their livelihood.

The publicity of trial is not permitted under any circumstances, and some of the arguments for the secrecy are, the necessity of protecting the law-officers, who may have accidentally or wilfully misunderstood the case, against such accusation ; and that the witnesses who may have given real or false testimony may not incur the risk of private vendetta. Even the processi, or indictments, are made out with a similar se-

crecy, and in a manner entirely inquisitorial; for the accused is neither present at them nor at the trial, and knows nothing of what occurs till his sentence is communicated to him.

The indictment is drawn up by two persons, the "Delegato," or informer, and the "Attuario," the clerk of the court; the former of whom examines the witnesses, and the latter takes down such evidence and answers as may be dictated to him by the Delegato. Whether the witnesses are honest or dishonest, is immaterial, as it rarely happens that they can either read or write, so as to ascertain the correctness of their deposition, which may therefore be subsequently altered, added to, or diminished, with perfect safety and secrecy, according to the will and pleasure of the Delegato and Attuario. If a witness, when examined by another officer of a higher court appears to depose differently to what was written, though it was substantially what he first stated, he incurs the guilt of false testimony, and is subject to the penalty of the law; and as the second examination thus constantly differs from the first, either the Informer and Clerk are guilty of false statements, or the witness of perjury; but as the latter can rarely justify himself against the double power of the former, not only the guilty parties are saved, but the innocent one is condemned to save them; and should the latter be even able by any good luck to prove the truthfulness of his deposition, it is equally rare that the former are punished.

Many are the cases in which the Delegato examines as a witness, the real criminal,—(if the income of the latter is on a greater scale than the tariff fees;) and so the rich culprit accuses some other person of the offence imputed to him,—frequently the very witness whose

testimony might condemn him, or some enemy upon whom he can thus avenge himself. In the darkness and silence of these investigations, there is no perfidy which the Judges need shrink from, no intrigues they need hesitate to attempt,—none they can fail to accomplish.

An instance of the combination of this fraud and chicanery, together with exposure and subsequent reward of guilt, occurred lately in a notary appointed as Delegato by the chief magistrate of the Regio Consiglio to take evidence on a murder committed in one of the villages. He made out a clear case with most plausible evidence against the individuals supposed to be guilty ; but the witnesses were unexpectedly and separately re-examined by a magistrate of that tribunal, who, finding their statements quite different to the depositions written by the Delegato, read them to the witnesses, each of whom immediately accused that person of having written not what they said, but what it had pleased him to write, and hinted a certain cause for his having done so. Their evidence was so truthful, and the deliberate dishonesty of the Delegato so clear, that the accused parties who had been found guilty and were on the point of being condemned to death, were released from prison, and he was arrested and prosecuted. After he had been imprisoned a short time he was released ; and in a few months was nominated to the important post of Procuratore Fiscale of the Prefecture of Cagliari, and this not from any subsequent proof of innocence, or given as compensation for unjust punishment, but by the interest of one of the highest law officers in the island, whose friendship and protection he possessed. Though a general outbreak of public indignation took place at the appointment, there was no remedy ; for his patron, a Piedmontese, was in too high a position to

be assailed ; and the arbitrary power of his office is such, that he could have punished his accusers as easily, and with the same injustice, as he had rewarded the delinquent Delegato.

“ For my authority bears a credant bulk  
That no particular scandal can touch,  
But it confounds the breather.”\*

We may next consider the almost incredible system of imprisoning witnesses in criminal trials, a power emanating from the *Avvocato Fiscale*, by which the witness may be imprisoned not only on the pretext that his evidence may strengthen or invalidate, as the case may be, the verdict which is wished to be obtained ; but frequently as a security against an impeachment of the deposition made by the Delegato. Two years ago two witnesses died of the miseries and hardships of their confinement in the prison of their town ; and many similar tales are told of the secret dungeons at Cagliari. In some cases the parties know by what means, and are able to obtain their release, while others less wealthy, have only to give, or adhere to the testimony and deposition required of them, and state, according to the legal proverb, “ *quello che piace al Fisco*,”—that which the law officer wishes ; so that little or nothing can be calculated on the testimony of people whom the abuse of public authority places in the horns of a dilemma—a lie, or the necessity of saving themselves, and where, in both alternatives dishonor is synonymous with security.

An instance, the authenticity of which cannot be disputed, occurred very lately to one of my friends, from whom I heard it. While wandering in the moun-

\* “ Measure for Measure,” act iv. sc. 4.

tains he fell in with a fuoruscito, who knowing that the law would not help him, and that his foe had all appliances and means to boot to escape punishment for a robbery and outrage, had determined on the summary course of personal vendetta. My friend inquired why he delayed carrying out his purpose, for his foe was accessible at any hour. "Oh, yes," he replied, "I am sure enough of him, but I am not rich enough." "How not rich enough?" "Why, I have not yet got the wherewithal to keep the judge and priest quiet."

But if justice is thus uncertain it is no less tardy, for the *Avvocato Fiscale* not being limited as to time in drawing out evidence against the accused, and in obtaining the *incombenti* or supplementary proofs, may either lengthen or keep a case before him for months, without doing anything to it, while the parties, guilty or innocent, remain incarcerated during his pleasure. In the different prisons I visited, were many who had been there for long periods awaiting their trial, with their miserable existence doubly embittered by the uncertainty and delay of their fate; and others, upon whom, after their trial, the sentence as well as its execution had been deferred with the same arbitrary procrastination. In one case, an individual whose sentence of death was passed after ten years' imprisonment, replied with cheerful resignation, when it was announced to him, "*Non vi era bisogno di tanto per liberarmi di questo inferno, e per lasciarmi perire felicemente sul patibolo*;" "there was no necessity for so long a delay in liberating me from this hell, and in letting me die with happiness on the scaffold."

The administration of the laws in every other department, besides those strictly civil and criminal, is equally degraded by insecurity, injustice, corruption, and viola-



lation ; and this opinion is thus cautiously worded by a law officer, whose talents, learning, and character have raised him to one of the highest legal appointments in the island, in a letter to me on the subject. " In fine, non avrà da lodare la nostra tela giudiziaria, che abbisognerebbe di forme più secure e più spedite. Peggio ancora l'andamento delle processure criminali, non avendo noi nè giudizio nè dibattimenti pubblici, nè altre illuminate riforme, le quali assicurino la libertà cittadina, e rendano meno arbitrio il giudizio."

Other parties of very high standing in the profession expressed themselves more strongly to me ; and in the course of conversation with the Giudici di mandamento, they indirectly and tacitly acknowledged that poverty and not their will consented to the iniquitous system forced upon them, their general sentiment being, " La necessità di far mi vivere, mi fa morire gli altri ;" " the necessities of my own life make me the death of others."

Much discontent prevails among the Sardes from the principal government appointments being held by the Piedmontese ; and with all due allowance for the complaint being exaggerated by national and self-interested feelings, and though it might not be politic to confide too much to them the administration of their own affairs, there is by no means a just proportion, for honor and talent are to be found among the islanders as much as among the continental subjects of the king ; and while availing himself of their services with satisfaction to himself and gratification to them, he might abate those feelings of hatred and jealousy which so unfortunately exist between the rival states. Among the government offices held by the Piedmontese are the Viceroy, the Reggente, Intendente, Avvocato Fiscale, Generale delle Armate, Commissario di guerra, Direttore di Dogana,

and many others; but his Majesty's late Prime Minister at Turin, as well as several persons in his government and about his court, who are Sardes, have given sufficient evidence that he might with safety extend his confidence in his islanders to a further participation in the discharge of their own affairs, and adopt the old Neapolitan law, by which the Sicilians ought to hold as many places in Naples as the Neapolitans may hold in Sicily.

The constant nomination of Piedmontese to the office of *Avvocato Fiscale* is a special grievance, for, impressed with the belief that the situation designs them to be the avengers of crime without being the protectors of innocence, they imagine their duties are most ably performed by severity; and with a misconception of the national character, suppose their qualifications most ably tested by the number of persons they punish. An *Avvocato Fiscale* was lately conversing publicly with another Piedmontese law functionary at Cagliari on the number of persons he had condemned, and while reciprocally boasting of their success, he concluded a virulent denunciation of the Sardes by saying in a most insulting tone, "*Ho fatto anch'io la mia buona e bella parte;*" "I also have done a good and fair share of that work.

But all I saw and heard tended to prove that the faults of the functionaries are the misfortunes of their position,—the inevitable consequences of the system; that until a fair and sufficient salary places them above the necessity of being dishonorable and unrighteous,—until all trials are carried on with publicity, and witnesses are not suborned and punished by bribes, threats, or imprisonment, no benefit can arise from the code of legislation introduced in 1838. The effect on the character of the people is but too evident; and if the lawless and vindictive propensities so constantly attributed

to them are to be reformed, the first step must be such a system of public justice and safety as will remove both the inclination and necessity of taking the law into their own hands by retributive crime and vendetta, and eradicate the feeling which the *Sarde fuoruscito* might express in the words of Schiller's Karl in the *Räuber*.

“Mein Handwerk ist Wiedervergeltung ;  
Rache ist mein Gewerbe.”

An instance of the daring avowal of such sentiments occurred on the late visit of the King. An outlaw demanded pardon of his Majesty, who consented to grant it on the proviso that he would swear on the altar to forgive his enemy, relinquish vendetta, and agree to the cause of dispute being brought before a proper tribunal. The *fuoruscito* having ascertained that his enemy would not consent to the terms, informed the King that he could not accept the pardon on those conditions, and that, instead of the oath of peace, he would defend himself by “*guerra al cuchillo*.” Such is the cool indifference with which these outcasts treat and are treated by the public, that, while the King was at one of the towns in the interior, a notorious *fuoruscito* came down from his mountain retreat, and, disguised in female attire, participated in the festivities of the royal visit ; his presence being well known to his large acquaintance, and disregarded by those authorities who were cognisant of the circumstances.

The trial by jury has been demanded, and of course refused ; but, independently of the dangers of such an institution to the Government, the present system of the administration of the law would require a total reform before its introduction could benefit the nation.

Sismondi well observes on the subject :—" Il n'y a aucune nation à laquelle nous ne souhitions l'institution du jury, mais il n'y en a aucune qui doive s'attendre à y arriver de plein saut. Avant d'introduire le jury dans un pays qui n'y est pas accoutumé, il faut y introduire une réforme dans les lois, une réforme dans les preuves admises devant les tribunaux, une réforme dans la longueur des procès et des audiences, une réforme dans le style des plaidoiries, une réforme dans le préjugé qui interesse tout le public en faveur d'un prévenu, tandis que dans un pays libre, le public devrait s'intéresser à la société offensée et à la loi violée; une réforme enfin dans les mœurs, pour qu'elles donnent, comme en Angleterre, une haute sanction à la loi, à la justice, et à la foi du serment. Si l'Espagne ou l'Italie tentaient d'adopter le jury, justice n'y serait point rendue, et qu'il en resulterait un préjugé funeste contre une institution essentielle à la liberté et à la morale publique. Que les pays qui entrent dans la carrière de la liberté commencent par établir une publicité complète dans leurs tribunaux, afin d'accoutumer leurs citoyens à la loi et à la justice. Ils auront déjà beaucoup fait pour la liberté, car ils auront ainsi associé l'opinion publique au pouvoir judiciaire."

The punishments inflicted by the law, are the same as in the other dominions of the King. It was only in 1821 that torture was abolished; but it seems that the object obtained by that barbarous process is now effected by means certainly milder, but no less derogatory and dangerous to the moral principles.

The curious mode of granting pardon which prevailed a few years since, still exists in a modified form, and is thus described by La Marmora. At Christmas

\* "Etudes sur les Constitutions libres, &c.," p. 82.

and Easter the Viceroy holds a little court called the *Sinziata* (a relic in name and form of the "*Sitiata*" or "*Session*"), where, surrounded by his staff and the *Reale Udienza*, he proceeds to one of the rooms in the prison, and sits on a little dais, behind which is a portrait of the King, while the rest are seated around a table on which are writing materials, books, and all the show of a judicial court, together with vases of flowers, fruit, and ornaments. The prisoners are then brought in ; one after the other they are unmanacled, and can address the Viceroy on the subject of their incarceration and urge their claims and prayers to be among the number to be pardoned on this occasion. *La Marmora* says,—“ *L'appareil de l'autorité, mêlé aux objets les plus gracieux, ne fut peut-être dans l'origine qu'une allégorie tendant à rappeler aux accusés que la justice peut quelquefois adoucir ses rigueurs, et que, si elle punit, elle sait aussi récompenser.*” It may be a beautifully sentimental theory, but this liberty of appeal and allegory of flowers—

“But mocks the woe that lurks beneath  
Like roses o'er a sepulchre,”

for a certain few have been previously named for the royal favor, and the rest, guilty and innocent, return again to their durance vile. The Viceroy pardons also on Good Friday any three prisoners he pleases, no matter the extent of their crime and punishment. His letter containing the respite, is placed by the Secretary of the *Reale Udienza*, at the foot of the cross at the moment of its elevation and adoration in the High Mass appointed for that day's service, and the *Sacristano* of the Cathedral then breaks open the seal, and an-

nounces the contents, which are forwarded to the fortunate victims. Such a ceremony, on such a day, might be said to have somewhat of a blasphemous imitation of the great atonement and pardon for all sinners, but useful indeed would be these "attributes to awe and Majesty," if the beautiful truth that—

"Earthly power doth then shew likest God's  
When mercy seasons justice,"

were oftener and more practically shewn in Sardinia.

As connected with the administration of the law, we may now look to the state of the members of that profession.

The *Avvocati*, or barristers, ranking next to the nobility in the grade of society, and enjoying many of their privileges, are in their emoluments allowed to arrange the sum with their clients in advance; and where no such agreement exists, they are entitled to half the fees which would be otherwise charged as expenses by the court. But in either case the standard of payment is not sufficiently high to prevent the iniquitous prolongation of causes by every kind of subterfuge; though, of course, there are many high-minded and noble members of the profession who not only denounce the system and demand a reform in it, but refuse to lend themselves to the customary practice.

But if the Sarde bar cannot be praised for its general uprightness and honesty, how little can be said in favor of the *Notaji*, or attorneys. The *Giudicessa Eleonora* in her "*Carta di Logu*,"\* regrets that there was such a deficiency of them, not only in "the towns, districts, and walled places, but in the remoter parts." "*Cherimus, et ordinamus, consideradu su grande de-*

\* Chapter 51.

fectu et mancamentu chi este di notare in su regnu di Sardignu, non solamente in sas citades, terras et logos murados, pero pìus de totu in sas villas de foras, &c. ;” But if that wise legislatrix could visit Sardinia in the present day, she would promulgate another law for the annihilation of the superfluous members of that profession. At Cagliari there are about 350 barristers, and about seventy at Sassari; the number of attorneys I could not ascertain; but a Sarde author, speaking of them, says :—“ Sono rarissimi i luoghi dove almeno non siavene uno; mancherà il chirurgo, il flebotome, la levatrice, ma non il notaio; e nei villaggi grossi possono fare un collegio.”—“ There is scarcely a spot where there is not an attorney: a surgeon, a phlebotomist, a midwife, may be wanting, but not the attorney; and in the large villages there are enough of them to make a college.”

The examination for their licence to practise is almost nominal;—the facility of obtaining the diploma (the costs of which are about 3*l.* sterling) is another cause of their great increase; and as it is the most lucrative of all the professions after the priesthood, many young men who are educated up to a certain point for the latter, but who, from various causes, do not enter holy orders, follow the law in preference to returning home without any occupation. The charges are fixed by tariff, being regulated according to the value of the property and nature of the business; and though but small, their complexity and multiplicity make up for the lowness of the standard. The fees of the town-attorney are about one fifth higher than those of the village practitioner; and for the drawing up of a will, or making a settlement where the property amounts to from 4*l.* to 38*l.*, the charge of the town-attorney is

4*s.* 7*d.*; from 38*l.* to 192*l.* it is 11*s.* 6*d.*; and above 192*l.* about 1*l.* 2*s.* 7½*d.*, and it increases in a similar ratio. A marriage settlement in which the property is from 4*l.* to 9*l.* costs 1*s.* 6½*d.*; where it is from 9*l.* to 15*l.* it is 4*s.* 7½*d.*; from 15*l.* to 38*l.* it is 6*s.* 2*d.*; and from 38*l.* to 77*l.* it amounts to about 9*s.* 3*d.*, and so on in proportion.

The above circumstances will have shewn not only the inducement to enter the profession, but that, when once admitted, the notaio is forced to create and promote every possible quarrel, enmity, and litigation, to secure himself a livelihood; as the inventor and circulator of scandal, he magnifies his falsehoods till they have embroiled his victims to the commission of those very acts which are an infringement of the law, and a consequent advantage to himself; and the victim, having once taken that fatal step, has to steer his sinking bark between the Scylla of the Notary and the Charybdis of the Judge. Rare is the instance of an escape from the double vortex; but were a 30*l.* duly fixed on every diploma for attorney's practice, some thousands of individuals would be forced to seek another livelihood, more serviceable to the state, more just to the community, and more honorable to themselves; and tens of thousands of their fellow-creatures would not be subjected to the miseries and iniquities of law.

These remarks may be concluded with the words of Sismondi.\* "Ainsi donc, pour nous résumer, nous demandons pour tout peuple qui n'est pas libre, et qui aspire à le devenir, des droits communaux, l'organisation des citoyens en garde nationale, l'abolition de toute censure préalable pour les livres et la discussion de tous les intérêts de l'Etat dans une assemblée nationale

\* "Etudes sur les Constitutions libres des Peuples libres," p. 234.



suffisamment nombreuse. Nous croyons que tout monarque absolu de l'Europe, dans son propre intérêt, peut et doit accorder à son peuple ces garanties, s'il veut calmer une fermentation croissante, regagner les affections de ses sujets, et éviter les chances des révolutions. Nous croyons aussi que toute nation qui entre dans la carrière de la liberté, doit se contenter de ces privilèges, qu'elle doit songer qu'il est dans son intérêt de passer par l'éducation lente et progressive du gouvernement constitutionnel, et qu'il vaut bien mieux pour les citoyens recueillir les fruits de l'arbre qui fleurit au milieu d'eux, que de l'arracher dans l'espoir de le remplacer par un autre de meilleure qualité."

The Courts of justice at Cagliari no more deserve that title in respect to the building, than to the purposes to which they are applied. By particular favor I was admitted to the room in which the Tribunal of the Reale Udienza was sitting. The Judges, seated on each side of a long table, at the head of which was the president, wore dark gowns and large hats; and, with the exception of two avvocati, who were seated "below the bar," no one else was present. Nothing seemed to be going on, save a slight whispering among themselves, with an occasion reference to the avvocati; and the mysterious solemnity brought to one's mind the scenes at Venice and Toledo in former days; but it might be questionable whether St. Mark or St. Iago have witnessed stranger anomalies in the Council of Ten and in the Inquisition, than St. Efisio has in the Reale Udienza at Cagliari.

The building in which this law court is held was formerly a Jesuit convent, and it would be difficult to say whether these innocent walls have seen most iniquity when dedicated to Sarde law or to Sarde gospel.

The prison is the twin-sister of the *Civico Spedale* in misery and horror, but more perfect in the accomplishment of torture and inhumanity. 225 guilty and innocent beings were incarcerated together; the former without a hope, the latter without a certainty, of liberation. The Government provides no bedding of any kind, but if the prisoner can afford to buy a piece of matting, he is allowed to have it for that purpose. The men have no occupation, but the women are allowed to weave and spin if they can get employment. The sick ward belonging to the prison is enough to make every sound person ill who enters it, and the different rooms were all on an equality in filth and effluvia, with the exception of one, reserved for those whose pecuniary circumstances allow of better treatment. A father and son, of good family and affluence, and very respectable in their appearance and behaviour, were confined there, and had the little comforts and decencies which their station in life required. In a conversation with them, they stated that they were imprisoned on the accusation of having stolen three calves from a neighbour, but that they had only recaptured the identical animals which had been stolen from themselves, and that their neighbour had, by his influence, and out of revenge for an old grudge, procured their imprisonment. The case might, or might not, be true, but he concluded his version, with a shrug of the shoulder and a pout of the lip, saying, "*Ci vuol pazienza, ma giustizia, non si può averla!*" Several stories from the other prisoners, of which, as *ex-parte* statements, one could not judge of the rights and wrongs, ended in a similar expression of patience supplying the place of justice. But the dark under-ground cells! No one who has not seen them can picture to himself such barbarity. A Sierra Leone

slaver, or the dungeons of an oriental despot are luxuries to the Sporce and Bellavista holes ; and the number of deaths that have even lately taken place in them are the incontrovertible evidence of the barbarous treatment. These cells were studiously concealed from the Viceroy at his late visit to the prison, but the iniquitous reservation and deceit were discovered ; and being now acquainted with it, he has it in his power to remove such a stigma from a government professing civilisation and humanity in the nineteenth century.

Two prisons are allotted to the galley-slaves ; one in the Sperone fortification, and the other near the Fort of San. Vincenzo. I did not go over them, but the treatment of the prisoners is said to be a degree better than in the other parts of the island, and many of them suffering punishment for slight offences, or whose conduct is good, are allowed to work and go about the town in couples, unfettered and without a guard. It has been stated (but I was unable to ascertain the exact number) that Parma, Lucca, and Modena were permitted, a short time since, to send their criminals to Sardinia, by way of banishment ; thus converting the island into a penal settlement for those petty states.

The port is defended by a small mole, built in 1657, on which is the Pratique-office, and the pier encloses a space deep enough for vessels of 400 tons burden, though not more than twenty can be well accommodated. The bay is, however, an excellent roadstead for ships of any size, the best position being about a mile south-west by west of the mole, in eight fathoms water and a mud bottom ; with slight flood and ebb tides, called the Implidura and Sicca, from the filling and emptying of the large stagno on the north-west of the town.

The Lazaretto lies under Cape St. Elia, a promon-

tory about 250 feet high, separating the bay of Cagliari from that of Quartu. It contains about fourteen very inferior compartments; the establishment is mismanaged, and the Sarde laws relative to the subject of quarantine are as numerous as they are trivial and vexatious.

The Dogana is close to the port, and heavy complaints are raised against the authorities, by all who have mercantile business with them, as well as by travellers, in regard to the examination of their boxes.

Notwithstanding the natural advantages of position, port, and roadstead, the shipping interest is not only very limited, but almost entirely carried on under the Genoese, French, and Italian flags.

In inquiring into the state of the commerce and trade of the whole island, there is great difficulty in obtaining, on official authority, any *bonâ fide* returns, owing to the inexactitude with which they are made in the first instance, and being frequently altered to suit the views of interested parties. From sources, however, on which the most reliance could be placed, it appears that, in 1841 the value of articles imported was 10,804,677 lire nove, or 432,187*l.*, paying a duty of 1,574,979 lire nove, or about 62,999*l.*; and that of the articles exported, amounted to 8,486,827 lire nove, about 339,473*l.*, with a duty of 452,981 lire nove, or 18,119*l.* In 1842, the imports were valued at 8,539,200 lire nove, or 341,568*l.*, with a duty of 1,601,800 lire nove, or 64,072*l.*; and the exports at 8,695,300 lire nove, or 347,812*l.*, with a duty of 442,200 lire nove, or 17,688*l.*

In this latter year, therefore, the total import duty averaged  $18\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the export duty  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ; with a balance of 156,100 lire nove, or 6,244*l.* in favor of the exportations.

The medium value of articles annually imported during the ten years, 1827 to 1836, was 7,996,179 lire nove, or about 319,847*l.*, and of those exported 7,060,622 lire nove, or 282,425*l.*; shewing an excess of importation over exportation; the returns therefore for 1841 and 1842 shew an increase, though small, in the general amount, and in a favorable direction.

The import duties paid at the Cagliari custom-house alone, in 1842, amounted to 1,070,138 lire nove, or 42,806*l.*, and the export duties to 250,281 lire nove, or 10,012*l.*, making a total of 1,320,419 lire nove, or 52,817*l.*; about five-eighths of the entire import, and five-ninths of the export duties raised throughout the whole island.

It is needless to make further observations than we have already done on the impolicy of the commercial system as enforced by the laws, or to form any estimate of the advantages of a removal of those prohibitions and principles by which all enterprise, native and foreign, is so absurdly fettered; but as a more favorable treaty of navigation was made between the King of Sardinia and Her Britannic Majesty in 1841, and some changes and reductions were effected by the new Sarde tariff of 1842, a further abolition of the antiquated and suicidal restrictions may be eventually permitted. For the duties levied on specific articles, and for other statistical details, the reader is referred to Mc. Gregor's invaluable *Commercial Tariffs*.\* The state of the public finances and budget may be thus analysed. The direct taxation consists of the ordinary and extraordinary donativo, the impost in lieu of the feudal dues paid to the barons, and taxes for the bridges, roads, forage, and the post. These amounted in 1842 to 966,416

\* Part vii. p. 29.

lire nove, and the interior administration and communes contributed 320,331 lire nove; making a total of 1,286,747, or about 51,470%. This is exclusive of the various minor local dues, rates, and the octroi. The indirect revenue arising from the customs, mines, gunpowder, tobacco, salt, snow, fisheries, registrations, fines, composition, rent charges, and other sources, averaged from 1827 to 1838, 2,542,667 lire nove, or about 101,707%; and is now increased to about 3,000,000 lire nove, or 120,000% per annum; so that the total amount of revenue may be calculated at about 4,286,747 lire nove, or 171,470%.

No returns of the expenditure in the different departments are given, and in the details of the accounts, a cautious secrecy is maintained.

The royal monopolies of salt, tobacco, and gunpowder, can hardly be considered as legitimate tests of the trade and industry of the city; but in the miserable state of the other manufactures, they take the precedence in importance and value.

About 3000 Cagliariitani are engaged in mechanical employments, and their generally poor and distressed condition may be attributed to several causes. The year's work and year's wages amount to but little; for out of the 365, nearly eighty entire days and twenty half days are carefully kept as feste; exclusive of the Sabbaths, on which however they do not hesitate to work if required; and to these fixed days of recreation and expense in the pursuit of pleasure may be added the optional and occasional holidays. The restrictions as to apprenticeship and mastership being very severe, are a hindrance to individual enterprise and activity; and lastly, the articles produced are of so ordinary a quality that there is but little profit. Some very coarse

cloths, cottons, and the beretta or common cap, are the three most important manufactures, about a thousand persons being employed in them ; but as they are only purchased by the lower orders, and at a very cheap price, the profits are small.

Grain, which is the principal article of trade with the interior, is brought to the corn market either on horseback, or on a kind of dray made expressly for the purpose. By the first mode they can carry about five bushels, by the second from thirteen to twenty-seven bushels ; each mode of conveyance being a certain index to the state of the road or path of the district from whence they came.

The three markets are well provided with all kinds of provisions, especially with fruit and vegetables, which are particularly fine as well as cheap, though brought from Pula, Sarrabus, and the neighbouring villages ; the dryness and intense heat not allowing their growth in the immediate vicinity of the town. The Lucenti apricot, which ripens early in May, is much prized, but for size and flavor is far inferior to our own fruit. The Amostassena, a kind of octroi duty on all things sold in the market, was so mismanaged and abused in the collection, and found to be so profitless to the government, as well as vexatious to the vendor and consumer, that it has been lately abolished ; but each seller of provisions is obliged to obtain permission of the authorities and pay two reals, about  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per month, towards the lighting of the town.

Butter made of cow's milk is both scarce and dear ; the greater part being brought from the north and east of the island, and averaging about ten soldi, or  $9\frac{1}{2}$  the pound ; but that made of sheep's milk fetches about four soldi, or  $3\frac{3}{4}d.$  the pound. Curds, whey, and

Colostro, a mixture of milk, flour, and water, simmered on the fire for a short time, are the favorite milk preparations ; and the milk-carriers have a costume peculiar to themselves.

The wines of the Cagliari district vary much, owing to their adulteration in the retail sale ; but in their natural state, it is impossible to speak too favorably of them, and if brought to the English markets, they would be a highly appreciated addition to our cellars. The Moscato, Girò, and Cannonao, resemble those in the other provinces ; but the Malvagia and Vernaccia of Orri, and those of Sinnai, are superlatively good. The Marquis di Villahermosa, the possessor of the best vineyards at Orri, stated to me that he, as well as other proprietors, knew not what to do with their stores of wine, for there was no export sale, and the home consumption was small and profitless, from the abundance and cheapness of wine in general.

The Malvagia and Vernaccia, full-bodied, dry, white wines, cost one lira nova, and ninety-two centimes, or 1s. 6½d. the “ quartiera,” of one gallon and nine-tenths of a pint, or about 1s. 4½d. the gallon, and is generally sold by the “ cupone,” which is 200 quartiere. The Sinai is a red wine of equal strength and flavor, costing something less than the Malvagia.

Cagliari has for many centuries suffered the infliction of a scarcity and badness of water ; and of the five wells in the Castello, only two—the San Pancrazio and the St. Lucia—are now used. The former, about 300 feet deep, is worked by a wheel and horses, and the water is not only brackish and thick, but dirty from the sparto or rush of which the cord is made, constantly breaking ; and the St. Lucia, made, according to an inscription on it, in 1550, is in no better condition.



Almost all the houses of Cagliari have on the ground-floor a large cistern, or reservoir for the rain water, which is generally preferred for drinking, and, from its source and goodness, is called the "aqua del cielo," and only when exhausted, is that from the above-mentioned wells used. It is carried about in barrels drawn by bullocks, each barrel containing about five "barriques," or 180 "pinte,"—about forty gallons,—and costs two lire nove, about 1*s.* 7½*d.* Water, therefore, in the upper part of the town costs nearly a halfpenny per gallon! In the lower parts are a few public and private wells; but the best spring is in a cavern near the Capucin convent, 154 feet deep, and of a very good quality. This immense cistern is one of the many to be found excavated in the limestone rock of Cagliari, and which were doubtless the only supplies of water obtained by the early inhabitants, but gradually disused after the construction of the aqueduct by the Romans. In several may be traced the "ingurtidroju," or perforations in the top, into which the rain water was conducted. Solinus\* mentions the care shewn by the Sardes in thus collecting it.†

In the grotto of St. Andrea, which Captain Smyth very correctly compares to that in the Latomiæ at Syracuse, is an immense reservoir in the sandstone rock, supposed by some to be a natural formation; and the cavern is likewise a favorite resort of the lower orders, who, as wine and dolci are sold there, amuse themselves with smoking, drinking, cards, and other games.

\* Polyhistor, ch. 9.

† "Hibernæ pluvix in æstivam penuriam reservantur; nam homo Sardus opem plurimam de imbrido cœlo habuit; hoc collectaneum depascitur, at sufficiat usui ubi defecerint scaturigines, quæ ad victum usurpari solent."

Merchant-vessels requiring water must send to Pula, and the water-boats are made expressly for the purpose ; but a large tank in the Darsena is appropriated for ships of war.

The ancient Roman aqueduct was supplied with the water of the Uccherutta di San Giovanni stream, near Domus Novas, from which point to Cagliari its remains have been traced, and the total length ascertained to have been about 45,000 metres, or 49,214 yards. From that village it takes its course by Siliqua and Villa Speciosa ; and after crossing the Caralita, Trenta, and Partiolla streams, toward Decimo and the districts of Maso and Fangario, enters Cagliari by the Avendrace quarter, where it subsequently branches off in different directions.

Several of the wells and reservoirs are still extant, and their subterranean courses have been traced in different parts of the town, especially in the Stampace and Marina quarters. Much information was gained on the subject by the researches of Padre Angius in 1835 ; and it appears to have been constructed toward the end of the Republic, or under the early Emperors ; but the period when it ceased to be used is unknown. At the commencement of the Aragon dominion, propositions and legislative enactments were made, particularly by Don Alfonso IV. in 1327, with many others of a later date, relative to its repairs and intended use, but they do not seem to have been carried out. The remains gained, in process of time, a fabulous origin, and even now among the lower orders, is a belief that it was the work of the Marquis di Oristano, or rather of the devil, whose friendship and co-operation served him on so many occasions ; but in this particular instance, his Satanic Majesty made the subterraneous

passage to enable his friend to get into Cagliari quietly and unobserved; while another equally satisfactory account is, that it was made by the favorite national fairy, Lucia Raiosa,—the same lady who built and has had named after her so many of the *Noraghe*.

Though now entirely useless and much dilapidated, the practicability of its restoration has been admitted by all who have examined it, and a slight attempt was once made; but after expending about 500 lire nove, or 20*l.*, the funds and energy were both exhausted. The estimates for a thorough repair vary from twenty-four to sixty thousand pounds; but neither the Government nor private enterprise have been wise or bold enough to raise a tax or loan, though the interest and principal might be repaid in fifteen years, as upwards of 100,000 lire nove, or 4000*l.*, are paid by the inhabitants annually to the water-carriers for bringing the water from the wells in the *Castello*, besides further sums for their maintenance and repairs, and other expenses, amounting to 5000*l.*

The natural and artificial Saline or Salt Pans around Cagliari, are peculiarly adapted by their position, dryness, and warmth of climate for the production of salt; and their importance in former times is attested by various records of the *Giudici*, and diplomas of the Kings of Aragon. Diego II., in 1327, granted permission to the *Cagliaritani* to take as much salt as they might require for their private wants; but imposed, at the same time, a heavy fine on any abuse of the privilege. The King of Sardinia keeps them as a royal appanage. M'Gregor states that though the working of them does not cost "more than nine reals (or about 3*s.* 5*d.*) per salm, or ten cwt., yet the Sardes pay five dollars (about 19*s.* 2½*d.*), and the continental subjects about fifty

dollars (or 9*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*) per salm." As this would make it 19*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* per ton, it must be one of the "*paucæ maculæ quas aut incuria fudit,*" &c. of that great statician. Supposing that he even *meant* reals, and not dollars, salt, according to that calculation, would be 1*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* per ton ; but, according to a published account of the Saline in the *Dizionario Statistico* of the island, the cost price of production is calculated at seventy-five centessimi the salm, or about 7½*d.*, and consequently about 1*s.* 2½*d.* the ton ; and on the authority of the late Consul at Cagliari, it was sold for exportation at eighty centessimi the metrical quintal, of 246lbs. Sarde, which would be about 6*s.* 6*d.* per ton English ; but the Cagliaritani have it at about five centessimi the cantar,—less than one-eighth of a penny per pound English. Of the six natural Saline, three are to the east of the town,—La Palma, del Lazaretto, and that on the Spiaggia di Quartu ; and the three to the west are St. Pietro, La Georgina, and La Madalena. The artificial salt-works situated in the Monvulpino district, cover a space of about 8000 "are," or about 198 acres, and each ara gives on the average fifteen salme, or seven tons and a half. The produce of the natural saline is, however, much greater, and the first drawing off is the best, as the subsequent crystallisations are not so perfect. The natural salt formerly fetched fourteen per cent. more than the artificial, which is much lighter ; but by a law passed in 1838, the prices were equalised. In the export trade, the continental states of the kingdom, Sweden, and North and South America, are the principal consumers. In 1840 the value of salt exported to Piedmont amounted to 242,000 lire nove, or 9680*l.*, which, at eighty centessimi the metrical quintal, would be about 29,795 tons ; and that to Sweden 7000

lire nove, or 280%, which, at the same calculation, would be about 862 tons, the Swedish vessels having imported steel and iron, the duty on which was upwards of 100,000 lire nove, or 4000%. In 1842 the exportation to Piedmont was 33,837½ tons. I was unable to obtain the returns of the quantity sent to Sweden; but the duty on iron and steel imported from that country amounted to 54,000 lire nove, or 2160%. The finest and purest salt is required for the Newfoundland fisheries; that for Rio Janeiro is coarse, and used there for salting the water for the cattle, which are subject to a peculiar disease requiring this remedy. Five shiploads were sent there in the beginning of 1843, under Maltese and Ionian flags. At Trapani, and other Saline in Sicily, the cost price of salt is a little higher, and the port and export duties heavier, so that the advantage is considerably in favor of the Cagliari market; and the Piedmontese Government, being anxious to encourage the trade, has compounded the port dues at 2½ scudi, or 9s. 7½d., and removed all export duty on vessels entering the port in ballast. That which we import from Portugal is at a much higher cost, so that vessels returning in ballast from the Mediterranean, with a cargo from Cagliari, might perhaps find it a better speculation than taking that from Sicily or Portugal.

## CHAPTER V.

The Archivio Regio.—Archives.—The University.—Examinations and Degrees.—Mode of Election.—Salary of Professors and Officers.—Theology. — Law. — Medicine.—Library.—Forbidden Books.—Use of Latin.—Laws of the University rigid and trifling.—The Majoli.—Population of Cagliari.—Dress.—Language.—Natural Talent nullified by Indolence.—Feste.—Religious Ceremonies.—Habits and Customs.—Siesta.—Evening Parties.—Society.—Viceroy's Balls.—Houses.—Studio of Marghinotti.—Restrictions on Books.—The Newspaper.—Printing Presses.—Censorship.—Festa at Quartu.—Costumes.—The "Tirai di pei."—Neighbourhood of Cagliari.—The Tarantula.—Swinnburne's Description of the Apulian compared with the Sarde Belief and Customs.—Capo St. Elia.—Wild Pigeon Shooting in the Grotto delle Polombe.—Torre dei Segnali.—Bay of Quartu.—The Setti Fratelli Range.—Island of Cavoli.—Village of Carbonara.—Population of the District.—Story of Sa Mannu Rugia.

THE Archivio Regio — the depository of the royal archives, is in the suppressed Jesuit Monastery of Santa Croce. Their paucity may be accounted for by the vicissitudes of the war, saccage, and pestilence, to which Cagliari was continually subjected, and to the abstraction by the Pisans and Genoese, in their alternate tenure of power, of such documents as might be serviceable to themselves. The Aragon government was more attentive to the registering of its own enactments than preserving those of the island; and the Piedmontese dynasty, though copies of its legislative acts are de-

posited in Cagliari as well as Turin, has abstracted and taken to the Terra ferma capital, from time to time, such as might be advantageous to itself, or the possession of which by the Sardes might be an inconvenient evidence of their former comparative independence. During the plagues from the fourteenth to the last century, many were burnt with the general collection of private papers and writings, as articles of a contagious nature; and in addition to this wilful destruction, were the accidental fires in the depositories of the ecclesiastical and civil records. It is, therefore, at Pisa, Genoa, Barcelona, Madrid, Rome, and Turin, that profitable researches in Sarde history might be made; and in reference to those archives still extant at Cagliari, it is necessary to obtain a special permission to examine them, as the Government is extremely tenacious, and looks with a keen eye of surveillance on every inspection. The same system exists at Turin, and a high literary character stated to me, that even as a favored Piedmontese subject, it was with much difficulty he was enabled to make the researches there.

The shortness of my stay in that capital made it not worth my while to apply for the permission, but on my return from the island the favor was obligingly offered to me. In the slight examination I had made of the archives and records at Cagliari, none gave a greater insight into the manners and customs of the Sardes in past ages than the account of the embassy of the Duke of Anjou to Ugone, Giudice of Arborea, in 1378; and the narrative of the surrender of the property of Leonardo Cubello, Marquis of Oristano, to Martino, King of Aragon and Sicily, in 1410; the former is elsewhere inserted, but the latter is not of sufficient interest to be acceptable to the general reader.

Credit is due to the government and the authorities for the order and condition in which the originals, as well as copies, are now kept; and a Latin inscription in the room mentions the institution of the present Archivio Regio by Vittorio Amadeo III. in the year 1776.

In a separate establishment are the old ecclesiastical archives, only sixty-five in number, and heaped away in most careless confusion in a tawdrily painted chest, on which St. Cecilia is represented as the presiding genius. The same neglect seems to attend them as formerly, when Ferdinand V., in 1511, commanded duplicates of all records to be kept in the chapter-house of the cathedral, or in the archbishop's palace, a regulation which is still adhered to. The few of a date anterior to this ordinance were so entirely of a local interest, such as Papal briefs, grants, exchanges, and confiscations of church lands, that I did not copy or make many extracts. The only two not so exclusively confined to Sarde matters, but embracing extraneous interest, were No. 51, the despatches for the publication of the Bull for the Holy Crusade, entitled "*Despachos sobre la predicacion della bulla de la Sancta Cruzada en este reyno de Cerdeña*;" and No. 37, an account of the privileges granted to the churches of Sardinia by Charles V.

The printed ordinances and regulations of a modern date on church matters were very numerous.

On the Balice side of the Castello is the extensive but simple building of the University, restored and arranged by Carlo Emanuele III. in 1764, in accordance with a bull of Clement XIII. in 1763. The Magistrato or Council presiding over it is composed of the principal civil and ecclesiastical authorities, with the archbishop, a president, chancellor, censor, rector, and



assessor. The University is composed of the five faculties or classes of philosophy, theology, law, medicine, and anatomy; each faculty having a certain number of members, including the professors and doctors who are appointed to the Magistrato, subject to the royal assent.

Of the six examinations and degrees, four are private and two public; and the grades, namely, Magistero, Baccellerato, Licenza, and Laurea, can be passed in four years. The mode of examination and the conferring the degree is the same as at Sassari, and has been already mentioned.

To obtain the highest degree in Philosophy, the candidate receives from the Professors of the Faculty a thesis, on which he has to read a dissertation, for which fifteen days are allowed him to prepare; and has also three hours *vivâ voce* examination; but in the other faculties, the system is different. Several scraps of paper, on each of which is written a thesis, are placed in a box, and the candidate having drawn one of them, has thirty days to prepare an essay on the subject, and then reads it in the presence of the magistrate, and the professors and members of the Faculty to which he aspires to be admitted.

In the election of Professors, the Magistrato and Members of the Faculty having assembled in full convocation, the candidates then enter into public argument on two subjects which they have drawn by lot on the previous day; each candidate being allowed half an hour for his dissertation; and after having answered any questions put to them, the conclave retires to give their decision. This is done by each writing on a label the name of the candidate whom he considers on oath to have most distinguished himself; the names of the

three who have most votes are then reserved, and the others rejected; and this ballot-system is carried on to the sole remaining candidate, though, should the number of votes for the two last be equal, the President gives his casting decision.

This system which might be good if properly carried out, is however, to a considerable extent, merely nominal; for from abuse, and from the centralising system, the appointments are generally made by the King.

The Professors of Law, after holding their appointments twenty years, are admitted to the grade of *Giudice della reale Udienza*; and as an encouragement and reward to hereditary talent and industry, a Professor, who is the third in his family who has held the appointment, is raised to the rank of nobility. This honor is conferred also on any *Giudice della reale Udienza*, Lieutenant Colonel, or Knight of the Order of St. Maurice and Lazarus, whose father and grandfather had obtained the same rank.

The salaries of the nine Professors of Natural History, Logic and Metaphysics, Mathematics, Geometry, Ethics, Experimental Physics, Agriculture, Architecture, and Commerce, vary from 38*l.* 8*s.*, to 46*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*; in the three branches of Theology,—the Scriptures and Oriental languages, the Dogmas and Ecclesiastical History, and the Theological morals,—the salaries are 48*l.* per annum; in the five divisions of law, namely, the Pandects, Latin Eloquence, Civil Institutions, and the Canonical Institutions; and in the nine Professorships in the different branches of Anatomy and Medicine, they vary from 38*l.* 8*s.* to 57*l.* 12*s.*, which is the highest of all the salaries. About a dozen minor officers are attached to the University, whose pay varies from

5*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*, that of the Chaplain, to 38*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*, that of the Director; and the total amount of the united salaries of the forty-two persons belonging to the entire establishment is about 1291*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.* An increase of 369*l.* 12*s.* is proposed to be divided in proportions; and a similar boon may possibly be conceded to the University of Sassari, which has been lately placed on an equality with that of Cagliari.

From such a formidable array of Professors, and so many branches of science, one might expect the University to be one of the best organised and most learned establishments of the age; but its practical results are in the inverse ratio to its theoretical organisation, and the smallness of the salary is productive of an infinity of evils.

The high sounding titles and divisions of Philosophy are, in the Sarde acceptation of the terms, little more than the common rudiments of education as given to the greater part of the rising generation in France, Prussia, and England; and the books, composed of extracts from ancient and modern authors, are such as in our own country are placed in the hands of boys of ten to sixteen years of age. The *Logica-Metaphisica* is only a few steps beyond the higher branches of grammar, and the Mathematics and Geometry are, as an author has observed on them, “*un pochino di aritmetica, un pizzico d'algebra ed alcuni libri della geometrica Euclidea.*”

The Theology is confined to the Canons of the Church, the works of the Fathers, and the old authors; but modern religious changes are unnecessary for Professors or Students to be acquainted with, and still less to be entered into. In various conversations with friends on theological subjects, their arguments and authorities

were taken from the dogmas, canons, and the Fathers, without any acquaintance with the important and learned Roman Catholic works which have been published in Italy in modern days.

The course of reading for the degrees of Law is open to similar objections. Wherever a national code is essentially based on and composed of the Roman Law, much more time and attention are necessarily paid to the study of the latter than in countries, where by the advancement of juridical knowledge, the doctrines of legislation are adapted to the present age. A despotic Government, too, may consider it politic to confine legal knowledge to an examination of the root and stem, rather than to the grafting those improvements which time, civilisation, and an enlightened policy, have effected in other countries.—

“A little learning is a dangerous thing ;”

Piedmontese policy imagines that too much is equally so.

Medicine, surgery, and anatomy are, both in theory and practice, at least fifty years in arrear of those sciences in other countries ; Galen is as much worshipped as Justinian, and a blind adherence to the nostrums of old systems arises as much from prejudice as from the scanty means of enlightenment. The circumstance of there being but few pupils in the surgical classes, arises from the expenses of the education and degree being too great in comparison to the future profits of their employment, and from the idea which has hitherto prevailed, that the profession is derogatory to a young man of good family, and fitted only for those of inferior grade. La Marmora's assertion is quite borne out by the fact, — that in regard to the lowest

class of medical men, "they scarcely know how to bleed or perform the slightest operation, and, as barbers of the village, presume to call themselves physicians, and exercise their art to the injury of the people and in disobedience of the laws." Their arrogance, on a par with their ignorance and poverty, is such that on duly appointed physicians establishing themselves in a village, they have to wage war with these barbers and self-constituted surgeons, and have frequently been obliged to retreat to their own town. This accounts also for the scarcity of medical men in the provinces, and for the number in the towns without any employment. La Marmora gives an anecdote, a similar case to which I met with in Spain, of a professor who, while travelling in the island and stopping at one of the villages, sent for, and was shaved by, the barber; but the razor-anatomist on discovering that he had operated on a professor, refused to receive any payment for his services, as etiquette required that they should be gratuitous and reciprocal between members of the same profession.

The Government has lately established a system by which a physician, called *Medico di Condotta*, has the care of a certain district, with a salary paid by the commune; and he is bound to attend to any case when called in, as well as to make periodical visits and to superintend the vaccine regulations. But the plan does not seem to succeed, as the prejudices of the people are in favor of the barber régime.

The fees of physicians and surgeons are fixed by a tariff of the 28th November, 1841. The price of a simple visit is 9*d.*; increasing according to the time of day or night, distance, and length of visit, to about 8*s.* In surgery, the fees vary according to the degree of the surgeon, as well as the time, distance, and opera-

ation, from 6*d.* to 8*s.*; and in the Bassa Chirurgia degree (the phlebotomists and dentists), the extent of whose occupations are defined by law, petty distinctions in the fees are actually made between bleeding in the arm, hand, or foot, the prices being 2½*d.*, 3*d.*, and 4½*d.* respectively; and it also costs 2½*d.* to have a tooth extracted, and 4½*d.* to have a root or fang of it removed;—according to the Imperial laws of the King of Sardinia!! Nothing can be more ridiculous than the minutiae and regulations of this tariff; prices being fixed in it for all sorts of contingencies, and which are subject to just as many modes of evasion, abuse, and trickery.

The Protomedicato, a board composed of six persons chosen from the professors and members of the colleges of medicine and surgery, has a jurisdiction over the affairs connected with the sciences and pharmacy. In this latter branch, which is little attended to or understood, they have the right of inspection of all drugs exposed for sale, and of fixing the price; and though the island affords great natural resources, in the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, little use is made of them, and the drugs are imported from the continent.

The institution of the study of chemistry is of very recent date, and the meagreness of the laboratory is proportionate to its advancement.

The cabinets of the different sciences are miserably supplied with the specimens, machines, and models requisite for practical instruction; and the want of them, which has nullified the attempts at improvement, may account for much of the ignorance and indifference of which both professors and students stand accused.

The library occupies part of the building, and was commenced at the same period as the foundation of the

University, in 1764. On its formation, Carlo Emanuele III. contributed many books from his own library; the royal printing establishment at Turin sent a copy of all works issued from its press, others were purchased at the public expense, and in 1773, after the suppression of the Jesuits, the books in their monasteries of Santa Croce, San Michele, Santa Teresa in Cagliari, and from other parts, were transferred to this national library. The entire collection amounts at present to about 22,000 volumes, five-eighths of which consist of old theological works; but modern books are very rare, as the petty sum of 38*l.* 8*s.*, the sum granted for the library, is barely enough to defray the common expenses of the establishment, still less for the purchase of new publications. A copy of everything printed in the island is deposited there; and including little treatises, pamphlets, and poems, they amount to about 700. The library happened to be in a miserable state of confusion, owing to a fresh catalogue and arrangement of the books being made; and the new classification was denounced by some parties as a sacrifice to external show, while by others it was highly approved. The whole department seems to have been sadly neglected till 1839, when the librarian, Giovanni Spanno, Professor of Santa Scrittura and Lingue Orientali, and author of the *Ortografia Sarda*, classified it, and effected more than any of his predecessors; but on the reduction of the funds to about 29*l.* he retired, and was succeeded by the present librarian, the Cavaliere Avvocato Don Pietro Martini, the author of the *Biografia Sarda*, 3 vols. Cagliari, 1837. The appointment is generally made to men of literary attainments.

In the laws for the University are some strict regulations as to the duties of the librarians, and the quality

of the works to be admitted and allowed to be read. The 520th article is very stringent as to the inspection of prohibited works. It runs thus:—"Non sarà consegnato al richiedente alcun libro proibito, senza la dimostrazione della licenza Pontificia che gliene accordi individualmente la facoltà. Chi la presentasse poi, non potrà prestarli ad alcun altro nella stessa Biblioteca, ne permettere che altri li legga insieme a lui. Il Bibliotecario, insieme ai suoi dependenti, prenderanno le convenienti misure per assicurarsene."

"No prohibited book shall be given to any applicant, except upon shewing a permission from the Pope granted to the individual. Any one presenting the same may not lend it to any one in the same library, or permit any other person to read it with him. The librarian and his dependents shall take the necessary measures to assure themselves of the same."

The few MSS. that exist are legal and of little general interest, except one of Dante, on parchment, and some of Fara's works.

The average number of pupils in the university is about 300, of whom the school of philosophy has 130, theology 80, law 60, exclusive of those studying for the profession of attorney and notary; medicine 10, and surgery 20.

They are matriculated on a system similar to that of the Piedmontese universities, except in the expense, a Cagliari matriculation paper costing only  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  The different degrees are on a similarly low scale; the laurea, the highest, costing in theology  $2l. 12s. 2\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; in law  $4l. 2s. 11\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; in medicine  $3l. 0s. 0\frac{3}{4}d.$ ; and in surgery  $1l. 14s. 2\frac{1}{2}d.$  Students educated at the Regie Scuole, in other parts, are allowed to pass their examination at the university under certain restrictions.



The Latin language is used on most occasions in instruction in the higher sciences, but not in medicine, surgery, natural history, agriculture, architecture, or commerce ; and as Greek is not required for any degree, there are neither professors nor students of the language, except the very few in the branch of the Scriptures and Oriental languages.

There are four months' vacation in the year, besides the Easter and Christmas recess, and numberless feste, all which holidays are published in the University Calendar of the current year.

The foregoing system and regulations of the university were promulgated by Regie Patenti, a royal ordinance, of the 27th September, 1842, composed of 557 articles. Many of them are excellent, but the Piedmontese passion for centralisation and interference has descended to absurdly minute points of etiquette and form ; such as a professor rising from his seat and bowing with his cap in his hand to any member of the Magistrato or a prefect, should they enter the room ; that at the burial of any member of the Magistrato, the rest of them shall attend with a wax candle, which is to be paid for, though the rest of the funeral expenses are not, by the university funds ; and even the beadle and porter have clauses in the royal enactment for ringing a bell, opening the windows, &c. &c. !!

In conjunction with the university we may introduce the Majoli, a class of students peculiar to themselves, and a system of education perhaps unknown in other countries. They are sons of peasants from the interior, who having natural abilities, but no pecuniary means of supporting themselves during their education at Cagliari, enter into the service of the respectable families in that town as domestics, without being considered as

regular servants of all-work or common menial drudgery; and in this respect the laws recognise a difference between a theft committed by them and a robbery by a servant. They wait at table, go to market and on errands, accompany their master or mistress in their visits, or to the theatre, carry the lantern, attend upon the children, "make themselves generally useful," and receive merely their board and lodging in recompense for their services; while for their own rights they attend the college lectures at the fixed hours, have all their spare time after performing their duties as servants, at their own disposal for studying, and by these means are enabled simultaneously to work out their livelihood and education.

The derivation of the name Majoli is uncertain, being supposed by some to be taken from the hood worn by the peasants on their capote, and resembling in shape the majoli, or "hopper," through which the grain is dropped into the grinding stones of the mill. Others give the Neapolitan word "mariolu" as the derivation, an expression by no means complimentary; but which, as La Marmora observes, "*serait quelquefois assez applicable à certains écoliers de cette espèce.*" When attending the inferior schools, they wear their village costume; but, admitted to the university, they adopt the usual bourgeois dress. As they proceed in their education, the service of servants gradually diminishes; they frequently become the tutors of their masters' children, or obtain some better and fixed employment or profession; and as priests, lawyers, and physicians, many have arrived at high appointments, especially in the law, where some have risen to the greatest eminence. The combination of duties of servant and student is far from analogous to that of the servitors and sizars at our

universities ; and it is a strange sight to see a lad learning "Philosophia" with a bunch of greens under his arm, or studying the "Belle arti" in the passage which he has just swept out with his broom. There are about a thousand of them at Cagliari ; and as a class they are generally looked down upon by their countrymen ; but the depreciation arises from a jealousy and envy of the abilities, industry, and success, by which they gain that honor and advancement which their despisers are too indolent or stupid to obtain. Many of the Majoli, it is true, turn out badly, and returning to their homes with presumption and affectation as Literati, become useless members of society ; and it is questionable whether they might not be more advantageously employed in agricultural pursuits in their native villages, than in increasing the already superfluous members of the different professions into which they enter ; but as a body they do not deserve the condemnation so constantly and ungenerously heaped upon them.

The population of Cagliari in former times has been so differently and widely stated, that no comparison can be fairly made with that of the census of 1843, when it amounted to about 29,600.

The ordinary continental mode of dress is adopted by the higher and middling classes ; but in that of the lower orders, which varies according to their occupation and custom, the taste for show and finery, and the quantity of large worked silver buttons on the breast and sleeves of their jackets and shirt collars, are ludicrously extravagant. But this is little in comparison to the expense and caprice of the female attire, which is said to be made and regulated according to the rank of the father or husband, and involves intricacies to be understood only by a Sarde couturière. On a festa the

females, though vying with each other, seemed to the uninitiated eye, on an equality in the extravagance of the embroidery and ornaments ; and—

“ Like the snail, with silver track,  
Placed all her wealth upon her back.”

In their moral and physical character the Cagliaritani are said to “ forget yesterday, to think little of to-day, and nothing of to-morrow ;” and to such an extent do their careless indifference and improvidence prevail, that even their language is jokingly cited against them as not having a future tense in their verbs ; a sarcasm, however, more playful than true ; for it does exist, though in a different form to that of the Italian conjugations ; as we have had occasion to observe. The Aragon and Spanish dominions have left traces of their language in many phrases and ideas ; and though there is much elegance in the dialect of the Cagliaritani, the “ *professus grandia turget*,” breaks forth in common conversation with a circumlocution and hyperbolical turn of expression, which, though unintentional and unknown to themselves, is striking to the stranger.

There is no deficiency of natural talent among the middling classes ; but it is so smothered by the oppressive weight of indolence and supineness, and so debarred from a fair scope and exercise by the trammels of custom, prejudice, and mistaken education, that a Cagliaritano is seldom a prophet either in or out of his own country ; and among the higher orders, when listlessness does not keep them in ignorance, self-sufficiency but too frequently supplies the place of even ordinary knowledge. The Jesuit College, and the Collegio dei Nobili, the principal places of education, are presided over by that unscrupulous order which places its own

arbitrary bounds to information: so that with the exception of those whose rank and means enable them in after life to enlarge their ideas by venturing to think for themselves, or by visiting the Continent, few are acquainted with any thing beyond their own narrow circle. Cossu, in his work on Sardinia, gives a list of "illustrissimi" of Cagliari, of which he himself was a native; and civic affection and pride probably induced him to try to immortalise so many of his fellow-citizens, whose merits would perhaps otherwise never have been known to even their own parents or children. I had the pleasure of an intimacy with several very talented men, but the days are past when the capital of Sardinia had "extensive gymnasia,"\* and was the country of the fine arts, according to Solinus Polyhist.; but the names of Arquer, Dexart, and Baille, are however rightly revered by their fellow citizens, as their works have obtained, in Spain and Italy, a considerable reputation. The priesthood and people are well suited to each other; for the religious superstitions of every kind exist in proportion, and are well adapted to their ignorance; and the endless ceremonies are performed with the pomp and expense necessary to enthrall the vulgar mind.

One of the most important was the Festa of Corpus Christi, which continued for three consecutive days,—as it requires that time to carry the Body through the different quarters of the city and suburbs. All the authorities in full costume, ecclesiastical, civil, and military,—not omitting the Viceroy, who had his part to perform,—joined in the procession; but the most interesting portion of the spectacle was the crowds of

\* Diodorus, lib. v. ch. 30.

people assembled in the streets and at the windows of the houses where the procession passed, going down on their knees at the frequent elevation of the host,—a general genuflexion which extended even to those who were far off in other streets and could not see the holy wafer.

The private life, customs, and pursuits of the Cagliariani, are as much Spanish as Italian. The siesta and dinner take place between the hours of one and four,—a habit adopted by all classes, the higher closing their rooms, and the lower shutting up their shops,—during which time scarcely a person is seen in the streets; and the silence of the scene is no less remarkable than the general resurrection and thronging in the public walks from five till dusk.

The monotony of the evening parties, which have more of the “tertulia” than the *conversazione* in their character, is tedious; for the small talk of a small city, with a small stock of news and information, is of a cannibal character; the eating each other being the “plat de résistance” of the feast; and which, though it may be satisfying in default of other food, produces, especially to the stranger, much surfeit and indigestion. Nothing, however, can exceed the general kindness, to which is added a cheerful willingness to oblige; and may all visitors be as fortunate as myself in having those agreeable recollections of the society of Cagliari, especially in reference to a friendly intimacy with the English families who were resident there, and to whom I was much indebted for their amiable and cordial reception.

Next to the evening visits and soirées, the theatre in the Castello is the greatest pleasure for the natives. It is of excellent dimensions, handsomely decorated in-

ternally, and the performances by an Italian company of second-rate actors, were very attractive. A café, close to the theatre, is the favorite lounge of the higher classes and a scene of continual ravenous attack on the ices and punch, for which it is justly celebrated. It seemed to be the rendezvous for everybody at all hours, and the extract and concentrated essence of the news of the 29,600 inhabitants of the town.

The new Viceroy had just commenced his career with an event auspicious for the gaieties of the fashionable world,—a series of *soirées dansantes*. the first of which took place just before I left Cagliari, and gave me an opportunity of seeing an agreeable reunion of the aristocracy of the place, whose beauty and elegance were equal to those in similar assemblies in Italy.

But few of the nobility and gentry have a house entirely to themselves, the spare apartments being let out, as is usual on the continent ; and the furniture is of a second-rate quality.

Works of art and literature are even rarer than good furniture. Scarcely a house contains any above mediocrity ; for the nobles who have wealth or taste enough to procure them, transport them to their establishments on the Continent.

I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Signore Marghinotti, and visiting his studio in company with a friend whose portrait he was taking. Though my friend was known by the name of “ Le beau Marquis,” the artist seemed to have failed in portraying those personal advantages for which he is so distinguished, and which were the more striking as he sat for the portrait in his national costume.

The admiration in which the pictures by this Sarde Appelles are held by his countrymen is enough to make

him vain of his pencil ; this, added to the want of appreciation with which they might be treated were they placed in competition with those of the modern schools on the continent, together with constant employment and pecuniary advantages, are reasons in favor of his residing among his compatriots.

Books, especially foreign, are rare articles of either ornament or use, except in the houses of the professional men, and those are of a limited kind. Some idea may be formed of the state of literature, and of the encouragement and facilities afforded to the introduction of books, by the statistical return of the year 1841. The quantity imported into the island in that year, including every sort, in sheets, half and whole bound, weighed 9,838 kil. 6 dec. 5 het., or about 10 tons ; and the duty paid on it was 4,103 lire nove 39 cts., or 164*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* Not a sheet could pass through the Dogana without the knowledge and approbation of the Censor, though six-eighths of them were printed at Turin or Genoa, and had there already undergone the same ordeal.

Similar restrictions are placed on the publication of the Sarde newspaper, the same literary Cerberus guarding the gate of knowledge, and permitting only such things to pass into the " *Indicatore Sardo* " as shall have undergone the proper tests. Both external and internal news is, therefore, limited and garbled ; but as the Sardes have no means of testing its veracity, and as it is the only one in the island, all the erroneous and false notions thereby inculcated are received as orthodox and infallible. There are three small periodical publications, but the subjects are as limited as the information they contain.

The three printing establishments at Cagliari, la



Regia, la Civica, and l'Arcivescovile, and two at Sassari, are the only five allowed ; so that everything printed emanates from one of these sources ; but any work of importance or merit is always published at Turin, as the expenses are less, and the circulation and appreciation greater. A Sarde author, in commenting on the statistical return of the number of sheets used at these printing presses, thus vents his surprise at the ridiculously small quantity :—"Così poco si è scritto sulle scienze e sulle arti. Mancò per avventura l'ingegno ? Se ne abbondò sempre. Mancò la dottrina ? Furono per questa stimati moltissimi e con merito. Mancaron i mezzi ? Eh ! sono scuse ! Mancò la volontà di faticare." He could not have forgotten, though he dared not mention, that the censorship is even a stronger impediment than his last assigned reason ; that not a line can be printed, still less published, without the permission of the authorities ; who, on their parts, are so restricted that nothing but what is agreeable to the will of the sovereign, or of a most trivial character, ever comes forth from the press.

In 1841 only three small paper-manufactories were to be found in the island, from which little was made, and the quantity imported during that year—from paste-board down to wastepaper—amounted in weight to about 53 tons, and the duty on it was about 84*l.* 4*s.* The earliest work, said to have been printed in the island, is the "*Carta di Logu of Eleonora*," which, according to Simon and Tola, was written in the Sarde language, and printed in semi-Gothic characters about the year 1495, and a copy of which is said to have been in the Jesuit College ; but the parties to whom I applied there knew nothing about it, and seemed astonished at my application.

The most authentic accounts, however, place the introduction of printing in the year 1565,—by far the most probable period.

Cagliari has few agreeable rides—still fewer drives—in its vicinity. To the north is only the high road; the west coast is inaccessible, on account of the large Stagno; and to the east the villages of Pirri, Pauli, Selargius, Quartuccio and Quartu, are the principal objects of excursions. The road to them lies between field of arable and pasture lands with cactus hedges, and the Stagni do not form any picturesque scenery. Quartu contains about 6,000 inhabitants, and a festa there proved a sorry exhibition, owing to unfavorable weather, but the richness of the costumes fully confirmed the general report of their being the most magnificent in the island, though far less elegant than many in the interior. The brocade, gold and silver buttons, and embroidery on crimson velvets and cloths were extravagantly absurd for the class of people who wore them,—several, it is said, costing 400 scudi, or 76*l.* 16*s.*, and are heirlooms in the family. A bride's new jacket and vest will undergo those occasional enlargements which may be required in the course of her life; and on the marriage of her daughter, be handed over to her, and taken in to its pristine unmaternal proportions,—to be again let out as family occasions oblige, and thus be handed down to the third and fourth generation.

Among the amusements of the festa is the “*Tirai de pei*,” a species of wrestling, or more correctly speaking, a kicking match, peculiar to the district, and for which the peasants are famous. The two antagonists standing opposite each other, rest their extended arms on the shoulders of their two seconds, for such they may be called, or grasp their hands firmly, so as to

keep their equilibrium ; and the object of the game is to kick the opponent off his legs, or disable him by blows or fatigue. The springs, jumps, plunges, occasional intertwisting of the legs and kicks are accompanied with the exclamation of “ Ah, ah, ah ! ” tantamount to “ There you have got it—how do you like



TIRAI DE PEL.

it ? ” and though the combatants wear thick leather gaiters called “ burzighinus,” which are a stout protection, the bruises and injuries are very severe, and what begins in amusement frequently ends in spitefulness. Judging from the intense perspiration of the parties, it must be fatiguing, and after a time is very monotonous, as there is no accompaniment of athletic exertion of the rest of the body, no fair outward criterion of defeat or victory, such as among the Cornish wrestlers, where kicking though allowed, is only an incidental part of their manly game. A stranger can hardly tell the conqueror from the conquered in these contests, and feels

in the words of Achilles to Ajax and Ulysses in their great wrestling match.\*

“Your noble vigour, oh my friends, restrain,  
Nor weary out your generous strength in vain,  
Ye both have won, &c.”†

The neighbouring villages, all of a similar character to Quartu, are equally devoid of interest; but the scene changes at the valley of Sinai, which, irrigated by a mountain stream, produces the excellent wine already mentioned, and an abundance of vegetables and fruit, among which the figs are celebrated for their size and flavor.

The plain is backed by the bold outline of the Monte di Serpeddi, 3,528 feet high, and is only worth visiting for the scenery. With the exception of Burcei, the whole of this south-eastern corner of the island is unpopulated, though the remains of other villages, the period of whose dissolution is unknown, are to be found in various parts; and a few nomad shepherds are the only human beings to be met with in a thirty miles' ride from Mara Calagonis to Sarrabus on the eastern coast.‡ The inhabitants of Mara Calagonis, amounting to about 1,100, are as wretched a race, from the fever and ague of their undrained marsh lands, as from their miserable state of ignorance, in regard to which, “non considerati

\* *Iliad* xxiii. 735. † Pope's translation, lib. xxiii. 856.

‡ The acorn bread, which forms their general food, is thus prepared. The acorns when shelled, are put into a large seething-pot with water which has been strained through the ashes of burnt vegetable matter and clay. This lye extracts the bitterness of the acorn, and gives a consistency to the mixture, which is boiled down till it assumes a reddish-brown colour, when it is taken out, dried in the sun, and cut into cakes.

*i preti*,” “ forse nel paese non sono quattro persone, che sappian leggere e scrivere ” — “ not including the priests,” (of whom there are three) “ there are not perhaps four persons in the district who can read and write.”

In one of my excursions, I met with a peasant who had lately recovered from the bite of the tarantula, which is found in these parts, but not so abundantly as in the Campidano, the Campo St. Nicolo, and at a spot called Bennazzi ; and while there, as well as from him, I heard some curious customs and prejudices in regard to the cure of the bite, differing from those of Apulia and Taranto, from whence the insect takes its name.

By extracting the following account, given by Swinburne in his *Travels*, we shall better judge of these differences :—“ As I was now in the country of the tarantula, I was desirous of investigating minutely every particular relative to that insect ; but the season was not far enough advanced, as no tarantati, or persons bitten, or pretending to be bitten by the tarantula, had begun to stir. I prevailed upon a woman, who had formerly been bitten, to act the part, and dance the tarantula before me. A great many musicians were summoned, and she performed the dance, as those present assured me, to perfection. At first she lolled stupidly on a chair, while the instruments were playing some dull music. They touched at length the chord supposed to vibrate to her heart, and up she sprung with a most hideous yell, staggered about the room like a drunken person, holding a handkerchief in both hands, raising them alternately, and moving in very true time. As the music grew brisker her motions quickened, and she skipped about with great vigor and variety of steps, every now and then shrieking very

loud. The dance was far from pleasant ; and, at my desire, an end was put to it before the woman was tired. Wherever the tarantati are to dance, a place is prepared for them, hung round with bunches of grapes and ribbons. The patients are dressed in white, with red, green, or yellow ribbons, for those are their favorite colors ; on their shoulders they cast a white scarf, let their hair fall loose about their ears, and throw their heads as far back as they can bear it. They are exact copies of the ancient priestesses of Bacchus. The orgies of that god, whose worship under various symbols was more widely spread over the globe than that of any other divinity, were no doubt performed with energy and enthusiasm by the lively inhabitants of this warm climate.

“ The introduction of Christianity abolished all public exhibitions of these heathenish rites, and the women durst no longer act a frantic part in the character of Bacchantes. Unwilling to give up so darling an amusement, they devised other pretences ; and possession by evil spirits may have furnished them with one. Accident may also have led them to a discovery of the Tarantula ; and upon the strength of its poison the Puglian dames still enjoy their old dance, though time has effaced the memory of its ancient name and institution ; and this I take to be the origin of so strange a practice. If at any time these dancers are really and involuntarily affected, I can suppose it to be nothing more than an attack upon their nerves,—a specimen of St. Vitus’s dance. I incline the more to the idea, as there are numberless churches and places throughout these provinces dedicated to that Saint. Many sensible people of this town (Brindisi) differ in opinion from Doctor Seras, and other authors, who have

ridiculed the pretended disorder, and affirmed that the venom of this species of spider can produce no effects but such as are common to all others. The Brindisians say that the Tarantulas sent to Naples for the experiment were not of the true sort, but a much larger and more innocent one ; and that the length of the journey and want of food had weakened their powers so much, as to suffer the Doctor or others to put their arm into the bag where they were kept, with impunity. They quote many examples of persons bitten as they slept out in the fields during the hot months, who grew languid, stupid, deprived of all courage and elasticity, till the sound of some favorite tune roused them to dance and throw off the poison.

“These arguments of theirs had little weight with me, for they acknowledged that elderly persons were more frequently infected than young ones, and that most of them were women, and those unmarried. No person above the lowest rank of life was ever seized with this malady, nor is there an instance of its causing death. The length of the dance, and the patient’s power of bearing such excessive fatigue in the canicular season, prove nothing ; because every day, at that time of the year, peasants may be seen dancing with equal spirit and perseverance, though they do not pretend to be seized with the Tarantism. The illness, therefore, may be attributed to hysterics, excessive heat, stoppage of perspiration, and other effects of sleeping out of doors in a hot summer air, which is always extremely dangerous, if not mortal, in most parts of Italy. Violent exercise may have been found to be a certain cure for this disorder, and continued by tradition, though the date and circumstances of this discovery have been long buried in oblivion ; a natural passion for dancing, imitation, custom of the country,

and a desire of raising contributions upon the spectators, are probably the real motives that inspire the Tarantati. Before Seras's experiments, the Tarantula had been proved to be harmless, from trials made in 1693 by Clarizio, and in 1740 at Lùcera by other naturalists. The Tarantula is a spider of the third species of Linnæus's fourth family, with eight eyes, placed four, two and two; its color, commonly a very dark grey, but varies according to age and food. The bulk of its fore part is almost double that of the hind part; the back of its neck raised high, and its leg short and thick. It lives in bare fields, where the lands are fallow but not very hard; and, from its antipathy to damp and shade, chooses for its residence the rising part of the ground facing the east. Its dwelling is about four inches deep, and half an inch wide; at the bottom it is curved, and there the insect sits in wet weather, and cuts its way out if water gains upon it. It weaves a net at the mouth of the hole. These spiders do not live a year. In July they shed their skin, and proceed to propagation, which, from a mutual mistrust, as they frequently devour one another, is a work undertaken with great circumspection. They lay about 730 eggs, which are hatched in the spring; but the parent does not live to see her progeny, having expired early in the winter. The Ichneumon fly is their most formidable enemy."

This account coincides in some respects with that of the Sardes, but they have neither hired Tarantati to imitate Bacchanal orgies, the mesmeric influence of certain chords of music, the exhibition of the rhapsodies of the patient, nor revival of the effects of a former bite. Swinburne's hypothetical origin of the dance is questionable, and might be attributable to less classical



and more consistent causes. Even the Neapolitan dance, the Tarantella, which has been supposed to be derived from this custom, is of a very early date; for, in the Museo Borbonico, among the ancient pictures there are two marked Nos. 1179 and 1180, where the attitudes of the dancing figures correspond with those in the modern dance.

The Sardes call the insect *Arza*, or *Argia*; and in their entomological knowledge, have divided the genus into three species,—the “*Arza Bagadia*,” or maiden, the “*Cojada*,” or wife, and the “*Viuda*,” or widow; the first being marked with small reddish spots, the second are of a greyish color, and the third entirely black; but no particulars were given as to the male race. The person bitten is seized with cold shivering and fainting fits, the pulse varying in extremes of quickness or slowness according to the “religiousness” of the individual—“*la pietà della persona*,” and the utmost care is taken to catch the insect to ascertain whether it is a maid, wife, or widow, and according to the species, the patient invites the maids, wives, or widows—*humani generis*—in his village to cure him. These forming a circle, of which he is the centre, dance round him, accompanied by the *launedda*, till they are thoroughly exhausted, while he simultaneously performs a continuous *pas seul*; and this Terpsichorean dose is administered three or four times a day, occasionally for a whole week, till the patient is cured.

A far less agreeable remedy is adopted in other parts of the island, where he is buried up to the throat in a dung-heap, and the fair sex, of whatever denomination they may be, soothe him—not with the dance and song, but with the clank and twang of “*tintinnos*,” small bells, such as are tied round the necks of sheep and

goats, and which they beat and shake as long as they are able, the noise being said to frighten away the evil spirit of the person !

The virtue of these absurdities consists evidently in the perspiration which is produced ; and certainly few pharmacopœias could give a stronger sudorific than violent dancing four times a day till one drops, or being immured in a dung-heap for several hours during the dog-days,—that being the season when the people are most subject to the bite, and when the Tarantula is most venomous.

One of my informants stated that death had ensued in several instances from the bite ; but it is quite as possible to have been caused by the remedies ; and on the other hand, a gentleman, whose knowledge as a naturalist may be relied on, assured me that, though he had seen many cases of the bite, as well as the dance, he never knew one terminating fatally. He had tried experiments with them, and had purposely been bitten, but with no other result than a violent swelling and a slight general nervous irritation, such as might be produced from the bite of any very venomous insect ; and which, by the application of sweet oil, went down in the course of forty-eight hours.

The Tarantule I brought home with me have not yet lost their maternal blush, their maternal sober complexion, or their widow mourning ; and the colors were preserved by touching them lightly with a feather dipped in oil of turpentine.

An agreeable water excursion may be made from Cagliari to the Capo di St. Elia, to visit the Grotto delle Polombe, the access to which is easy in fine weather ; and excellent sport is to be had, like that at St. Antioco, in shooting the wild pigeons which abound in the cavern.

The Torre dei Segnali, a little fort on the coast, commands a fine view ; and from it, according to a popular song, the coast of Africa is visible,—

“ De sa turri de su forti  
Si biri Barbaria  
Deu donga sa bona notti  
A sa piccioca mia.”

It requires, however, a most poetical and imaginative telescope to discover the opposite shores in the clearest weather or with brightest imagination.

The bay of Quartu has a fine sandy beach, and a number of round towers, extending along the coast to Cape Carbonara, the most south-easterly point of the island. The range of mountains, continuing from the Sette Fratelli, the highest point of which is 3,187½ feet, terminates before reaching the sea, in a plain and small isthmus, at the extremity of which is the little island of Cavoli, the ancient Ficaria. Its modern name is derived from the quantity of wild cabbages ; and according to Captain Smyth, “ It is surmounted by a ruinous turret, bearing two guns, in which a garrison of five men is imprisoned for six months, and sometimes has not been relieved for upwards of twelve, though there is no water except that of a bad cistern, and a boat is not allowed to be kept. The Turks have more than once taken possession of the rock, for the purpose of concealing their vessels in its cove, and thence sallying out on whatever prey might be passing.”

On a plain between the hills and a small marshy lake near the isthmus, is the village of Carbonara, with its 700 inhabitants, “*penitus divisos orbe*,” both geographically and morally, and taking its name from the charcoal works which supply the province. Fara mentions

it to have been deserted in his time, 1580 ; and it continued so for many years, as the population was subjected to the attack of pirates, who found the position of the neighbouring shores an excellent shelter.

The richness of the soil, as it is one of the most fertile spots in the south of the island, induced the government to re-establish the village in 1821, and a few houseless, homeless vagabonds formed the nucleus of the new colony. The vines are particularly fruitful, the crops no less abundant, the mountains abound in wood, and the shores are a most appreciated resort of the fishermen ; but notwithstanding nature smiles thus benignantly, the Narbonatori, as the villagers are called, are in the lowest degree of social order. The shepherds and agriculturists carry on a continual war with their neighbours, in reciprocal robbing and vendetta ; and, according to the proverb of the district, it is impossible to say whether the crops are most damaged by the quarrels of the people, or by the quantity of wild boars. Such is the innate feeling of lawless liberty, and association of ideas, that the name of the Monte dei sette Fratelli, evidently derived from its seven culminating points, is by them attributed to the seven brother bandits, whose courage and exploits are still their mythic tales.

The following story, coinciding with their habits and feelings, occurred, according to my informant, a few years since, and is known as "Sa Mannu Rugia," or "The Red Hand." Two young men of the village of Carbonara, accustomed to work together in cutting the wood of the forests for their charcoal, were as methodical as matins and vespers in their departure in the morning, and return in the evening ; but their business taking them one day to a district on the east side of the

Monte dei Sette Fratelli, where they had never been, and from whence it was too late to return home, they determined on continuing a path which, though unknown to them, would perhaps pass near some shepherd's capanna or cottage. Such was the case, and on their arrival they obtained a night's lodging, and the usual hospitality. The shepherd's family consisted of his wife and four children; the latter were engaged in assisting their father, and had not returned home for the evening; and while the wife was preparing the humble but best supper she could give, the strangers, fatigued with a long day's journey, and worried by the business which was the object of it, fell asleep in a wood at a short distance from the cottage. The shepherd and his children returned home in the interim, and the wife having mentioned the arrival of the two young men, a general search was made for them, especially as supper was ready. She had been too busy with her domestic arrangements to trouble herself as to where they had gone, and it was not till after some time that the eldest daughter Ritta was the successful discoverer of them. She awoke them with an invitation to return home with her, in a voice of such sweet tone, that they both irresistibly whispered to each other their mutual admiration, and half confessed the tender thrill it had given them,—

“The devil hath not, in all his quiver's choice,  
An arrow for the heart like a sweet voice.”



On arriving at the cottage, the two little flickering lamps, and the fire which blazed in the centre of the hut, enabled them for the first time to see the lovely face and expression of the Syren. The first impressions they had received were strengthened by her personal

beauty, and her sweetness of deportment during the rest of the evening, engendered those feelings in their bosoms which eventually led to so tragical a result. On the following morning, the young men whom we must now designate as Efisio and Marco, simultaneously found an excuse to stay; but the business assigned as a reason was entirely forgotten in the society of the object of their mutual regard; and on returning home the next day, young, ingenuous, and open, they confessed to each other the intensity of their passion for Ritta. But their jealousy was no less strong, and from day to day increased in strength and in proportion to their love. Months rolled on; they still worked with each other, and even went occasionally to see Ritta together; but in their separate interviews with her the die had been cast. Efisio found that her preference for Marco left him no chance of gaining her hand, and his love for her being neutralised by his hatred of him when he found that their marriage was soon to take place, revenge became the surviving passion.

Though every sunrise still saw them start together for their work, accompanied by their dog,—for Marco never stirred without this faithful companion,—the toil of the day was no longer lightened by the warmth of friendship, or communion of thought; and little differences soon occurring, a quarrel ensued, in which Efisio concentrated the wrath of all his feelings, and stabbed his rival to the heart. The axe, which had served them for years in their happy hours of joint labor, was now used to dig a hole, in which Efisio placed the body, and covered it with earth and leaves; but with every care to prevent discovery, the blood had nevertheless stained his hand, and he proceeded to a stream to wash it away. The whole of that evening was spent by the side of the bab-

bling green waters, continuously though unsuccessfully endeavoring to remove the fatal stain,—

“Will all great Neptune’s ocean wash this blood  
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather  
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,  
Making the green one red.”

Night came on, and all his efforts having failed, he prayed to his patron, St. Efisio, for assistance, and the Saint having appeared to him in a dream, told him to go to his church and dip his hand in the Pila dell’Aqua, or stoup, and that when making the sign of the cross the stain should disappear. On awaking in the morning the damning evidence of his crime was still upon his hand, and in obedience to the command he had received he proceeded to the church of his village.

It so happened that Ritta had arrived there previously, to spend a few days with the relatives of her betrothed, and on going to mass on that morning they accidentally met at the stoup, but in such a position as not to recognise each other. While dipping her finger for the purpose of crossing herself with the holy water, a blood-stained hand was plunged into it also; she started, shrieked, looked up and saw Efisio by her side. He held up his hand to her wet with the water, but it was blanched and white as the flesh of an infant, and she sank senseless on the ground. Ritta had been much surprised at the absence of her lover the preceding evening, and on being carried home from the church an inquiry was instituted for him; and Efisio being naturally the first applied to, quite as naturally knew nothing about him, beyond their having separated in the wood, and his supposition that he had returned home. The friends immediately began to scour the

districts in which Marco had been known to work, and in the course of the day they found his dog howling, and refusing to move from the spot on which he was standing. On examination they perceived the marks of his scratching, and their suspicions being aroused, they removed the rest of the earth, and there discovered the corpse. Efisio had in the meanwhile escaped to the mountains, and Ritta, whose charms had been greater than her chastity, was prematurely delivered of a child, whose hand was marked with a blood-red stain. Both mother and infant died shortly afterwards; but the story of "Sa mannu rugia" has survived and is believed. On cross-questioning my informant on several points relative to it, especially as to such a crime being unknown or unnoticed by the authorities, he contemptuously replied that they seldom did or could know such things; but that if they did, they shut their eyes and went to sleep, desiring to be awakened when the parties had settled the matter among themselves.

The story is perfectly credible, and probably may have occurred, excepting, of course, the miraculous cleansing of the hand; but which by a superstitious people would be as easily believed as invented, and be the most interesting part to their feelings. A somewhat similar occurrence, but without the Ritta sentiment, or red hand, took place at Rome in the early part of 1833, and may be in the recollection of those who chanced to be there, as it excited much notice. A woodman was murdered by his companion; the discovery was made by the dog belonging to the deceased scratching up the body from the hole in which it had been concealed, and the man was found guilty and guillotined on this circumstantial evidence.

If Swinburne can trace the Bacchanal orgies in the



Tarantati, the Sarde belief in the purification of a stain by holy water may with equal plausibility be derived from lustration in the Roman and Greek religions. Plutarch, in his life of Sylla, states that Catiline, after having murdered Marcus Marius, washed his hands in the lustration water at the door of the temple of Apollo, and many others might be adduced.

## CHAPTER VI.

Ancient Remains at Cagliari.—Sepulchres.—Tombs.—Sa Grutta dessa Pibera.—Inscriptions.—Remains of an Amphitheatre.—The Museum.—No Catalogue.—Coins.—Bronzes.—Terra Cotta.—State of Art.—Cabinets of Natural History.—Funds of the Museum.—Phoenician Stones and Inscriptions.—Seal.—The Sarde Idols.—Description.—Inquiry into their probable Origin.

AMONG the ancient remains in Cagliari, the excavations on the side of the Monreale, and on the hill in the St. Avendrace quarter, supposed to have been the tombs of the earlier inhabitants, may be first mentioned. They are cut vertically in the rock, vary from ten to sixteen feet in depth, and are divided into three compartments or coffins, the outer sides of which were closed up with stone or cement. On one of the sides is a small aperture leading to a chamber about thirteen feet square and four feet high, considered to have been the receptacle for the decomposed remains which were taken out of the coffins when fresh corpses were interred. Pieces of cement may be still seen in many places, and though there is no clue to the epoch when these tombs were used, their construction was evidently much anterior to the foundation of the Roman aqueduct, as several of its little wells or reservoirs were made in them. It is presumable, therefore, that the sanctity of the place as a cemetery had ceased by lapse of time, and their form and character strengthen the supposition of

a Phœnician or Carthaginian origin. Near the parochial church of St. Avendrace is a series of tombs, having one of the reservoirs of the aqueduct and a narrow passage in the rock, but which, though now blocked up by the pieces which have fallen in, is known to have extended a considerable distance.

Many Roman sepulchres of a different shape and class are cut in these ancient tombs, and have niches for the cinerary vases and lachrymatories, while others have none, and are merely cavities sufficiently large to contain a corpse. If this irregularity in their construction should throw a doubt on their Roman origin, it must be remembered, that subsequently to the Antonines, A. D. 180, the practice of burning the bodies fell into disuse, and their burial in sepulchres of this kind will account for the combination of both customs in one spot.

It is much to be regretted that not above four or five of them have inscriptions or indications of the persons whose ashes or bodies reposed there.

The most interesting is the Grutta dessa Pibera, on the left-hand side of the road when entering Cagliari by the Santa Tenera suburb. In the front are traces of four columns which supported an architrave, on which are two serpents placed between four altars, from whence the grotto takes its name; in the centre are three rosettes, and the general style and ornamental work of the whole, though good, is of no positive order of architecture. In a vestibule under this portico are a number of Latin and Greek inscriptions, only eight of which have been deciphered; and in the large funeral chamber are some columbaria and recesses in the rock. The bottom has been excavated and used as a quarry, so that one cannot get to the end of the chamber without crawling round the ledges on the sides; but the ceiling

has as yet escaped destruction. Of the following inscriptions, those marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, have been very incorrectly published by Muratori;\* by Bonada, in his "*Carmina ex antiquis lapidibus*;"† by Burmann, *Anthol. Lat.*; ‡ by Sephanini, "*De Veteribus Sardiniae laudibus*"; § by Raymond Guarini, "*Prosodiæ Latinæ fundamenta cum Parnasso lapidario*"; || and, lastly, by Mimaut, who has given an erroneous interpretation to them.¶ La Marmora was the first who published No. 6; and Nos. 5 and 8, which are in Greek, may be considered also to have been brought to light by him, Muratori having only given a few words of each. In addition to the faithful copies he made of them, he has given, conjointly with his own observations, the valuable notes and commentaries of M. Le Bas, entitled "*Restitutions et Explication des inscriptions Grecques de la Grotte de la Vipère de Cagliari, avec quelques observations sur les inscriptions Romaines du même monument, par M. Le Bas, membre de l'Institut.*" They form an archæological, philological, and antiquarian treatise on the subject, occupying seventeen closely printed pages, and though it is here unnecessary to follow him in his corrections of Muratori, or in his amendments and substitutions, the antiquary might be pleased with an examination of them. The inscriptions are here presented according to the copies made by La Marmora, and the emendations and texts of Le Bas; a difficult task for the former and a learned one for the latter, as, independently of the erasure and destruction of many of the letters, there were constant hiatus arising from the in-

\* Vol. iii. p. 1638, 4.

† Vol. ii. p. 60-61.

|| Page 112.

† Vol. ii. 150, vi. p. 133, 134.

§ Page 33.

¶ Vol. ii. 402 to 404.

equality and fissures which existed in the rock when the letters were originally engraved; and the climbing and getting a position from whence they can be carefully examined, is also, as I found by experience, a troublesome business.

No. \* 1, is on the architrave over the portico.

POO . MEMORIAE . ATILIAE . L F . POMPTILLAE . BENEDICTAE . M . S . P .

No. ‡ is on the architrave over the entrance in the vestibule.

D. M.

ATILIAE . L . F . POMPTILLAE . MAMMAE . OPTIMAE . F  
[et] . CASSIO . PHILIPPO . PA . . . RENTIBVS . [s] ANCTIS  
L . ATILIVS . FELIX . . . IN . . . . . ET . . LIVS  
. LVT . . C[ass]IVS . LIB[er]is . POSTERISQVE . SVIS

No. ‡ is partly on the left side and partly on the front wall of the vestibule.

HICPOMPTILLAIACETCINERESAMPLEXAPHILIPPI  
CONIVGISHISARISINCLVDITVR[arc]ADVORVM  
QVAETACITADFAMAEVIVEN[serit]ARGVMENTVM  
IVNONISAEDESINFERNAECEBNITECVNCTI  
NVMINEMVTATOFVLGETPOMPTILLAPERAERVOM

No. 4, § is beneath the former inscription, on the left side wall of the vestibule.

VNVMETVIGENTIBIS(VNCTIVIXIMVSANNOS  
VNAFIDESNOBISGAVDIAMVLTADEDIT  
ETPRIORADLETH[en]QVVM SITPOMPTILLARECEPTA  
TEMTORETVDIXITVIVEPHILLIPPAMEO  
NVNCAETERNAQVIESDITISQVESILENTIAMAESTA  
HANCSTATVEREAMPLAMPROPIETATEDOMVM  
LANGVENTEMTRISTISDVMFLETPOMPTILLAMARITVM  
VOVITPROVITACONIVGISIPSAMORI  
PROTINV SINPLACIDAMDELABIVISAQVIETEM  
OCCIDITOCELERESINMALAVOTADEI  
HASAVDIREPRECESVITAMSERVAREMARITO  
VTPEREATVITADVLCIORILLAMIH

\* No. 52<sup>a</sup> in La M. ii. 486.      † No. 52<sup>b</sup> in La M. ii. 486.

‡ No. 52<sup>c</sup> in La M. ii. 486.      § No. 52<sup>d</sup> in La M. ii. 486.

The last six lines evidently form a separate epitaph, though there is no division between them.

No. 5,\* is under the preceding inscription.

Copy according to La Marmora.

ΕΣ ΠΕΨΕΝ ΜΟΙΡΩΝ ΜΙΑ ΝΗΜΑΤΑ.....Α...Ι...Ι ΚΤΥ.  
ΑΙΣΙΔΙΑΙΣΕΥΧΑΙΣ. ΙΜ.....Ι.....  
ΙΠΡΙΦΡΩΜΠΙΑΛΑ.....ΚΟ.....Ν.  
ΠΤΙΣ. ΠΕΡΓΑΜΕΤΟΥ.....ΙΟΝΙΗ.

Deciphered by Le Bas.

*Ἔστρεψεν Μοιρῶν μία νήματα, Κῆρα δὲ πικρὰν  
Ταῖς ἰδίαις εὐχαῖς ἐξέλιωσε πάρος  
Ἡ περίφρων Πώμπτιλλα, Φιλίππου χρηστή ἀκοίτις,  
Ἦτις ὑπὲρ γαμέτου τὸν βίον ἐξέλιπεν.*

This, more ingenious perhaps than exact, may be thus loosely translated:—"One of the Fates was already unwinding the fatal thread, but the wise Pomp-tilla by her prayers previously appeased the cruel messenger of Death; Pomp-tilla, the virtuous wife of Philip, quitted this life to save her husband."

No. 6,† is on the front wall towards the left side.

TEMPLA VIRI PIETAS FECIT PRO FVNERE MAGNO  
POMPTILLA EMERUIT [victi] MACASTACOLI  
NAMES DEVOVIT [ja]m [defi]CIENTE MARITO  
RAPTA VIRO [semper flebit] v[r]ILLES VO

No. 7,‡ is on the right-hand wall of the vestibule.

VRBIS ALVMNAGRA VESCASVSHVCVSQVE SECVT  
CONIVGIS INFELICIS ATILIA CVRAPHILIPPI  
HIC SITASVM MANIBVS GRATISSACRATAMARITI  
PROCVIVSVITAVITAMPENSARE PRECANTI  
INDVLSE REDEINECESSET FAMA MEREMVR

\* No. 52° in La M. ii. 487. † No. 52<sup>f</sup> in La M. ii. 487.

‡ No. 52<sup>s</sup> in La M. ii. 487.

QVODCREDISTEMPLVMQVODFORTEVIATORADORAS  
 POMPTILLAE CINERES OSSAQVE PARVATEGIT  
 SARDOATELLVRE(p) REMORCOMITATAMARITVM  
 PROQVEVIROFAMAE STMEVOLVISSE MORI

No. 8,\* is below the preceding one.

Copy according to La Mamora.

ΕΡΣΕΑΣΟΥ ΠΩΜΠΤΙΛΛΑ ΑΙ ΣΚΡΙΝΑΒΛΑ ΣΕΙΕΝ  
 ΟΣΤΕ ΑΚΑ ΘΑΛΛΟ ΣΕΙ ΠΕΤΑΛΟΙΣ ΡΟΔΩΝ  
 ΗΔΥΠΝΟΥ ΕΚΡΟ ΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΗΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΜΑΡΑΝΤ.  
 ΚΕΙΣ ΚΑΛΑΒΑ ΣΤΗ ΣΑΙΣΑΝΘΕΑΛΕΥ ΚΟ ΙΟΥ  
 ΩΣΙΣΑΝΑΡΚΙΣΣΩΙΤΕΠΟ ΛΥΚΛΑΥΤΩΙΘΥΑΚΙΝΘΩ Ι  
 ΑΙΣΟΝΕΝΟΨ ΙΓΟΝΟ ΑΝΘΟΣΕΥΟΙΤΙΧΡΟΝΟΣ  
 Α ΗΝΙΚ ΑΠΝΕ ΥΜΑΜΕ ΩΝΑΠΕΛΥΕΦΙ ΔΙΠΗ ΟΣ  
 ΝΑΚΡΟΤΑΤ Ο ΙΣΧΕ ΕΣΙΠΡΟΣΠΕ ΛΑΣΑΣ  
 Σ ΣΑ Ι ΟΨΥΧ ΥΝΤΟΣΥΠΕΡΓΑΜΕΤΟΥ ΠΩΜ ΠΤΙΛΛΑ  
 ΤΗΝ ΚΕΙΝΟΥΙΩΗΝΑΝΤΕ ΒΕΝΘΑ ΙΑ ΟΥ  
 ΟΙΗΝ ΙΥ Ι ΝΕΤΕΜΕΝΘΕΟ ΣΩΣΤΕΘ ΑΝΕΙΝΜ  
 ΠΩΜΠΤΙΛΛΑΝ ΓΛΥΚΕΡ ΟΥΛΥΤΡΟΝ ΥΠΕΡΓΑΜΕΤΟΥ.  
 Ι ΝΛΑ ΟΝΤΑΦΙΑ Π ΟΝΕΠΕ Υ ΧΟ ΜΕΝΟΝΔΙΑΠΑΝΤΟ  
 ΣΥΝΚΕΡΑΣΑΙΨΥΧ ΠΝΕΥΜ ΑΦΙΛΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΤΗΙ.

Deciphered by Le Bas.

Ἔρσεα σοῦ Πώμπτιλλα, καὶ εἰς κρίνα βλαστήσειεν  
 Ὅστεα καὶ θαλλοὺς ἐν πετάλοις ῥόδων,  
 Ἡδυπνόου τε κρόκου καὶ ἀγηρατοῦ ἀμαράντου  
 Κεῖς καλὰ βλαστήσῃς ἄνθεα λευκοῖον.  
 Ωσ, ἴσα Ναρκίσσῳ τε πολυκλαύτῳ θ' Ὑακίνθῳ,  
 Καὶ σὸν ἐν ὀψιγόνοις ἄνθος ἔχει τι χρόνος.  
 Ἦδε γὰρ ἡνίκα πνεῦμα μελῶν ἀπέλυε Φίλιππος,  
 Λήθην ἀκροτάτοις χεῖλεσι προσπελάσας,  
 Ζτᾶσα λιποψυχούντος ὑπὲρ γαμέτου Πώμπτιλλα  
 Τὴν κείνου ζωὴν ἀντέλαβεν θανάτου.  
 Οἴην συζυγίαν ἔτεμεν θεὸς, ὥστε θανεῖν μὲν  
 Πώμπτιλλαν γλυκεροῦ λύτρον ὑπὲρ γαμέτρου  
 Ζῆν δ' ἄκοντα Φίλιππον, ἐπευχόμενον διὰ παντός  
 Συγκεράσαι ψυχῇ πνεῦμα φιλανδοτάτῃ.

\* No. 52<sup>b</sup> La M. ii. 488.

This is the last of the inscriptions yet deciphered. As a poetical composition it is very fair, and the Greek scholar would have little perhaps to criticise, except the usage of the word *Ἐγστία*, in the first line, which is considered questionable; the various flowers mentioned in connection with the dead might be supported by a host of quotations from the ancient poets, as each has a classical legend attached to it.

The inscription may be thus translated:—

“ May thy ashes, Oh Pomptilla, nourished by dews, be transformed into the lily, and a green foliage, where flourish the rose, the perfumed saffron, and the imperishable amaranth. Mayst thou become in our eyes the flower of the fair primrose, that, like to Narcissus and Hyacinth,—that object of eternal tears,—a flower may transmit thy name to generations yet to come. When Philip began to feel his soul abandoning its earthly frame, and that his lips must soon taste of Lethe, thou didst sacrifice thyself, Oh Pomptilla, for an expiring husband, and didst purchase his life by thy death. Thus a God has broken that sweet union; but if Pomptilla devoted herself for a cherished spouse, Philip, living in regret, ardently desires soon to re-unite his soul to that of the most tender of wives.”

Of the history of this sepulchre, it may be said to be, as of the tomb of Metella,

“ Within its cave

What treasure 's laid so lock'd, so hid? A woman's grave.” \*

According to the inscriptions on the portico and over the entrance, her name was Atilia Pomptilla; her father was of the Atilia family, with the prænomen of Lucius; her mother, Mammea optima of the Pomptii, or Pontii,

\* “ Childe Harold,” iv. 99.



family; and finally her husband's name was Cassius Philippus. Livy\* mentions Philippus a prætor of Sardinia under Sylla; but his prænomen was Lucius, and he was of the gens Marcia, if, as there is reason to believe, the Prætor of Sardinia, in the year 671, A.U.C., was the consul of the year 698. Another person must therefore be found. Tacitus states, that in the year 819, A.U.C., or 66, A.D., C. Cassius Longinus, who had been præfect of Syria in the reign of Claudius, had been banished by Nero to Sardinia for having honored the image of Cassius, one of the murderers of Cæsar, among his ancestors. In absence of any further historical proof, it may be conjectured that C. Cassius Longinus was accompanied by his sons to Sardinia; that one of them, C. Cassius Philippus brought thither his wife, Atilia Pomptilla, a supposition strengthened by the expression in the seventh inscription.

“Urbis alumna, graves casus hucusque secuta  
Conjugis, infelicis Atilia cura Philippi”

And though Pomponius states that Cassius Longinus was recalled by Vespasian, it does not remove the probability that his son remained and lived in the island to an advanced age; for at the period of his wife's death he had been married forty-two years. An incidental confirmation of the identity of these persons may be found in the circumstance that Cassius Longinus, having been governor in Syria, may have been, together with his family, initiated into the mysteries of Isis, of which the title *Benedicta*, borne by Pomptilla, was one of the degrees; and this is further corroborated by the serpents engraved on the portico, though the worship of Isis was practised in Sardinia anterior to that period.

\* Epit. lib. lxxxvi.

From the united statements in these inscriptions it appears that Cassius Longinus, after an union of forty-two years with his wife Atilia Pomptilla, "Unum et viginti his viximus annos,"\* was on the point of death;—"jam deficiente marito,"† "ληποψυχούντος γαμέτου"‡ "languentem . . . dum flet . . . maritum;"§ and that she, as a second Alcestes, offered her own life to save his. The gods took her at her word; she went off into a placid and everlasting sleep,—“Protinus in placidum delabi visa quietem, occidit;”|| and on his decease, which probably occurred soon after that of his wife, he was buried in the same place with her;—"hic aris includitur arca duorum."¶ This monument or temple—"quod credis templum,"\*\* may have been erected by the immediate successors of the family to commemorate such miraculous uxoriousness; and, as one of so much notoriety and rarity, the epitaphs were inscribed by the friends and poets of the day. This, at least, is the simplest method of accounting for so many inscriptions to the same persons in the same sepulchre. I had the pleasure of examining it with La Marmora, and a second time more leisurely with his and Le Bas's notes, with which every visitor should be provided.

Among the many others in this part of the town, is one, not far from the Grutta dessa pibera, with a Latin inscription dedicated by Rubellius Clyteus to his relatives, but having nothing sufficiently worth insertion.

A great number of the sepulchres are inhabited by the lowest classes, whose cadaverous appearance is in unison

\* Inscription 4—1.      † Inscription 6—3.      ‡ Inscription 8—9.

§ Inscription 4—7.      || Inscription 4—9.      ¶ Inscription 3—2.

\*\* Inscription 7—6.

with their dwelling, and who, eking out their miserable existence in these charnel-houses in the lowest state of moral and physical degradation, form an intermediate link between the living and the dead. Those on the Montreale side of the city are of a very rough description ; and on the Bonaria hill are the remains of several which were left untouched by the Aragonese when they founded the castle and suburb in 1324. A vague account of them is given by Brondo, in his "*Ystoria y Milagros de N. Señora de Buenayre año. 1595 ;*" and the most important is called "*La Grotta del Re,*" from Don Alfonso having occupied it during his siege of Cagliari in 1324.

In the Palabanda ravine, between the Capucin Convent and the Castello, are the remains of an amphitheatre in a very dilapidated state, as part of the rock which formed the sides has been used as a quarry, and many of the tiers of seats thereby destroyed. Two-thirds of it were made out of the natural rock, and neither in size nor construction is it comparable with many in other countries.

The arena, a great part of which is choked up, is about fifty-one yards and a half long, by thirty-two and a half wide ; and the building calculated to have had sufficient seats for 20,000 spectators. Arrangements similar to those in other amphitheatres—such as some transverse subterranean aqueducts, which served for the naumachia, and a chamber, probably used as a den for the wild beasts, with a variety of passages and corridors,—may still be traced, and make it, notwithstanding its ruined condition, a very interesting monument of antiquity.

The Museum occupies three or four rooms in the University, and was founded by Carlo Felice, in 1806,

by a presentation of the private collection he had made during his residence in the island. The establishment has nominally a director, and a curator ; but since the death of the talented Chevalier Baille, in 1839, the entire care has devolved on the present curator, Signore Cara, to whose indefatigable zeal and industry its present good order and condition are attributable. The want of any catalogue prevented me making more than a few general notes on the contents of the different departments ; and I was indebted to that gentleman for his assistance and information.

The numismatic collection, divided into four classes, consists of about 100 specimens of the Carthaginian, 200 of the early Roman periods, 2400 of the Consulships, and 4308 of the Emperors ; together with medals of private families, all of which, with very few exceptions, have been found in the island.

The bronzes, terra-cotta, and glass, amount to about 2000 specimens, the greater part of mediocre style and workmanship ; but among the most remarkable is a bronze lamp, found at St. Antioco, the handle of which is a female figure looking at a mirror, and supported by two little non-descript figures, intended probably to be a Venus and a Triton ; and though not finely worked, is very elegant in shape. Two small bronze gladiators are most artistically designed and exquisitely finished ; a small naked figure, supposed to be an Antinous, found at Terra Nova, is equally well executed ; five inscriptions in a bronze plate record events in Sardinia during the reign of Nerva ; a variety of lamps and ornaments of very elegant form, and some pieces of armour, are apparently anterior to the Roman epoch. The specimens of ancient glass, though few, are most valuable ; and among them are thirteen large vases,

globular, opaque, and of different colors, equal to those in the Borbonico at Naples.

In the Terra Cotta collection, the Phœnician, Carthaginian, Egyptian, and Roman specimens amount to about 1000. Of the Phœnician we shall speak presently; but the Egyptian and Roman are of a similar character to those discovered in other countries, except some vases and jugs which are unique in their curious and elegantly indentated pattern, and equal in lightness and brilliancy of color to any in other collections.

In statuary and sculpture Sardinia cannot boast of its antiquities; at least the heads, busts, and "*disjecta membra*," the millaria, the cippi, sarcophagi and other remains, give no evidence of a high state of art.

In the natural history department, the Mammalia are few; but the ornithological has upwards of 1000 specimens. Signor Cara, who has devoted much of his talents to this branch, and by whom these were all prepared, has published a little work on the birds of Sardinia, entitled "*Elenco degli Uccelli che trovansi nell' Isola di Sardegna. Torino 1842*;" a valuable assistance to the ornithologist. The Erpetology has no rare species, and the island maintains its ancient character, as given by Pliny, Silius Italicus, and other authors, of being free from vipérs and venomous serpents. The Entomological cases are well stored; but I did not hear the quantity of their contents.

In Ichthyology there are 400 prepared and dried, with 200 specimens in spirits of wine.

In Conchology, upwards of 500 native and 600 foreign shells; and the Mineralogical cabinet, containing nearly 3000 specimens, foreign and native included, was arranged and a great part collected by La

Marmora, in 1835, with duplicates in the Museums of Turin and Paris.

Such is the Museum of Sardinia,—a country which could probably bring to light as many treasures of ancient art as any kingdom of its size, but which has as yet collected fewer. An indifference to, and careless destruction of them by the natives, and their abstraction from the island, have been assigned as causes of their having been so long neglected ; but were the Sardes even actuated by a national pride to preserve the memorials of their past history, what encouragement would they receive from the government ? The same paternal anxiety which takes care of the archives, is extended to the antiquities : Turin is considered a far safer place for them than Cagliari ; and the statements that only duplicates are sent to the Piedmontese Museum, have been refuted by authorities more qualified to know, and less likely to give a biassed opinion. A proof of the assistance given by the government to the Sarde Museum, is in the condition of its funds ; all the purchases, preparations of the specimens, cases, stationary,—in fact all the expenses are limited to 600 lire nove per month, or 288*l.* per annum ; and the salary of the curator is only 40*l.* per annum.

The Phœnician remains, though few, are by far the most interesting part of the collection. Among the most important are the stone discovered at Pula, and of which we have already spoken ; another found also at Pula by La Marmora, having ten letters tolerably distinct, but of which no interpretation has hitherto been given ; and the same mystery hangs over another inscription on a stone from Sulci,—probably the base of some statue. This latter La Marmora considers may have been Carthaginian rather than Phœnician. He

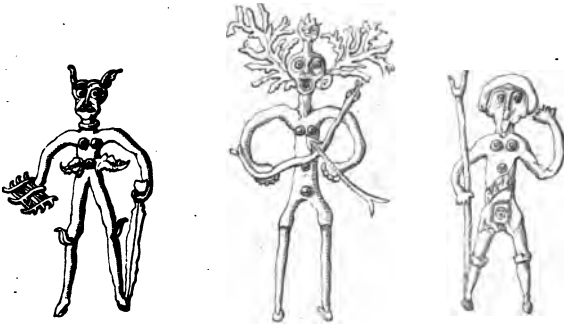
also describes a small white agate seal,\* found likewise at Sulci, representing a lion with a ring on its back, by which it was suspended, and with four Phœnician letters under the base, the interpretation of which, according to the Abbé Peyron, is "worship;" or, by the alteration of one letter, might be "transition." The Abbé Arri makes it to be "the end;" and Gesenius pronounces it to be a proper name, probably that of the owner, and the word "worshipper."

Of the other Phœnician remains, such as earthen jugs, &c., little need be said; and we may conclude this excursion in the island with the subject of the Sarde idols; for a full account of which the reader is referred to the figures and elaborate explanation given by La Marmora, and without which it is difficult to comprehend the subject. The following observations are derived from them and other sources.† Of the 180

\* Some curious seals were recently found in the bogs of Ireland, with letters cut in them, which were at first pronounced to be Phœnician. They were subsequently laid before that accomplished oriental scholar, Sir George Staunton, Bart., who considered many of them to be Chinese seal characters, which are quite different from the ordinary Chinese letters. He obligingly favored me with an inspection of the impressions, and, on a comparison of them with the Phœnician alphabet, as given by Gesenius, a resemblance to them could, in some instances, be found, and also to some of the letters in these inscriptions at Cagliari, though not corresponding sufficiently to warrant the identity of the characters in the Sarde and Irish relics. The similarity is merely a coincidence, for the seals, from their general resemblance to those actually in use in China, have been, with great reason, supposed to have been brought from that country, though how they found their way to the Irish bogs is an unsolved enigma.

† Münter's "Religion der Karthager," Kopenhagen, 1821; and his "Sendschreiben über einige Sardische Idole," Kopenhagen, 1822; "eine Beilage zur zweiten Ausgabe der Religion der Kar-

idols mentioned by La Marmora, fifteen are in the Museum at Turin, and several others have been added lately ; four are in the Cabinet de Médailles at Paris ; three in the Museum at Lyons, three at Florence, one in a private collection, one in the Kircher Museum in the Vatican, and one in the Benedictine convent at Catania ; all of which, with the exception of the latter, whose origin is dubious, have been obtained from Sardinia. As a mere generic description, they are small bronze figures and articles, varying from four to seven-



SARDE IDOLS.

teen inches high, irregular and grotesque in their form, and in most cases of the rudest workmanship. The opinion that they are the symbols of a religion essentially and solely cultivated by the earliest inhabitants,

thager ;" Guigniaut's "Religions de l'Antiquité," Paris, 1825-1839 ; Azuni, "Histoire de Sardaigne," Paris, 1802, page 30, note 1 ; Winkelmann, "Storia delle Arti del disegno presso gli Antichi," Rome, 1783, lib. iii. ch. 4 ; and in his "Lettere" (articolo 13) ; from Barthélemy, "Réflexions sur quelques Monumens Phéniciens," &c., Paris, 1754 ; and Kreuzer's "Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker."



has been based on the fact that similar idols have not been discovered in any other country; but this has been objected to, because among them are the figures of the ape, the antelope, and other animals not indigenous to the island, but of an eastern origin and character; and because, though bearing no positive resemblance to the Etruscan, Egyptian, Greek, or Roman idols, a mythological affinity may be frequently traced, and an elucidation of many of the characteristics be obtained by a comparison with the emblems and symbols of worship in the two first-mentioned people. The constant occurrence of forms and symbols of dualism, trialism, hermaphroditism, and the generative organs,—sometimes separately, at other times in combination,—the positive representation and allegorical allusions to the sun, moon, and heavenly bodies; the signs of priesthood, the prevalence of the cone and crescent, the bifurcated stick, the serpent, and other objects, strongly indicate an Eastern derivation.

The inscriptions on them are unfortunately so few and illegible, or when deciphered so unintelligible, that no very satisfactory light is gained from them beyond the fact, that many of the letters correspond with those on the coins found in the Balearic Islands, whose Phœnician origin is undoubted. Only two of the fifteen inscriptions have as yet been interpreted, one of which, consisting of only three letters, has been variously read as “Adon,” which would be the Phœnician Adonis, and as “Keren,” meaning horn and power, according to the Abbé Mignot,\* either of which interpretations would elucidate and correspond with the attributes of the figure. Six letters, legible on the other idol, have been

\* *Vide* “Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,” vol. xxxiv. p. 65.

imagined by La Marmora to have a similarity to the word Ugjungi, the name among certain Tartar tribes, of the third month of the year, an hypothesis far too vague to be valuable. The supposition of the characters being Runic is equally unsatisfactory, even when based on Schlegel's idea, that those letters were introduced by Phœnician merchants into the countries where they are found, and backed by the opinion of Celsius and other antiquaries, that they were partly composed of ancient Greek, Roman, and Gothic letters, deformed and corrupted. Among the prominent characteristics of the idols, are the principles of dualism as found in the oriental, especially in the Phœnician worship, and those of hermaphroditism,—the reunion of the active and passive principles, the junction of spirit and primary matter, and emblem of one, all, and self-creative power.\*

These attributes, represented in some of these idols by an egg, belonged, according to Sanchoniatho, to the Phœnician divinity Mot; and a similar symbol is found in the worship of the Indian Mout†.

The triadism, traced in some of the triple idols, and to which some curious analogies may be found in Maurice's "Indian Antiquities," is supposed to have reference to the three Cabiri, the Axieros, Axiokersos, and Axiokersa, as applied also to the Perdas Fittas and Perde Lunghe; and other figures, where the triad is very conspicuous, have been considered to refer to the Trimurti.

The bifurcated stick, from its frequent occurrence, must have been an important symbol; and the usage

\* *Vide* Drummond, "Origines," lib. v. ch. 4. p. 162.

† *Vide* Eusebius, "Præparat. Evang.," and Guigniaut "Relig. de l'Antiq."

of it by other nations, may assist in elucidating its meaning.

Among the Etruscan remains, especially in an idol statue discovered in a tomb at the ancient Tarquinia,\* it has been explained as a Baal-Peor, a divinity combining the phallic and infernal attributes, similar to those of Bacchus. It is found also on many of the funerary vases from the tombs of Corneto; and Micali, in his "*Monumenti per servire alla storia degli Antichi popoli Italiani, Firenze, 1833,*" gives several figures holding a bifurcated stick or sceptre †.

In the Babylonian cylinders, it is in most cases found with hermaphroditic figures. Layard ‡ gives a drawing of the Babylonian divinity, holding a similarly-formed sceptre. In the coins of Cyprus, the columns of the temple of Venus Fecundatrix—the universal mother—are represented with bifurcated capitals; and the Pythagorean Y, the symbol and emblem of human life, might perhaps also be considered of an analogous character.

But whatever may have been the real interpretation of this particular object in the Etruscan and Babylonian antiquities, among the Sarde idols it is evidently a symbol of dualism, being almost invariably found in hermaphroditic figures, with other concomitant emblems of generation.

The staff, an emblem of Mithras, and called in the Zendavesta "the arm of intelligence" and "ubiquitous

\* *Vide* Guigniaut "*Relig. de l'Antiq.*" vol. ii. plate No. 55.

† *Vide* Tab. 17—4; 20—11, and 18, 45—1, &c.

‡ "*Recherches sur le culte de Vénus,*" published in the "*Nouvelles Annales, publiées par la section Française de l'Institut Archéologique,*" vol. i.

creatrix," \* may have had a similar signification in the Sarde figures; and when found with a crook at each end, have borne the same meaning as in some of the statues of Isis, where, in her worship as goddess of Procreation, it is interpreted as the two qualities of regulation and moderation; but, according to other opinions, these crooks are symbolical of dualism.

The whip, as found in Egyptian worship, is an attribute of Osiris, in his character of the Sun, and of Ammon or Menes, in that of Pan or Priapus generator. Stephanus of Byzantium, under the word Panapolis, speaks of the whip in the hand of that deity when urging on the moon; † and among the bronze objects in the Egyptian collection in the Museo Borbonico at Naples, are several figures of Osiris holding a whip and serpent.

On many of the Maltese coins which have Phœnician letters, is a divinity with a conical mitre, and armed with a whip, which confirms the usage of this emblem by that people.

The serpent was probably symbolical of Kneph or Protogonos, the divinity without a beginning or end, the all-pervading spirit, the principle of organisation and reproduction, the soul and primitive intelligence of the world, which it governs and enlightens; as well as a phallic character, similar to that entertained by the Parsees, for which *vide* Anquetil's translation of the Zendavesta, where, in a dialogue between Meschia and Meschiane, the Adam and Eve of their creed, the serpent is the emblem of generation and production.

\* *Vide* Guigniaut, "Relig. de l'Antiq." vol. i. 2nd part, notes to Kreuzer.

† *Vide* Champollion's "Panthéon Egyptien," under Ammon générateur.

As symbolical of immortality and reproduction, it appears on hermaphroditic figures, and with a ramification of horns. In one of the idols, for example, is an arrow pointed to the breast, while from the head proceed a serpent and horns, the annual shedding of which indicates a continuous reproduction and renewal of life, to counterbalance the mortality caused by the arrow.

That the stag conveyed the same meaning, may be collected from Astarte, who is represented between two horned deer.\*

La Marmora considers the spherical figure found in the hands of some of the idols not to be emblems of the world, because the spherical form of our globe was only first propounded by the Alexandrian school of philosophy; and these idols are, without doubt, referable to a religion of an anterior epoch; because several appear with two globes in their hands, which would not be symbols of the world; and because our planet was represented in ancient times by a disk or half sphere, and never by an entire one; but that if this spherical figure be an egg, it will, with the beard,—for both exist in the figures of female bodies,—quite accord with the attributes of an hermaphroditic divinity of generation. On these suppositions it may be remarked that the sphericity of our globe was entertained in the earliest times;† that the egg proceeding from the mouth of the Egyptian deity Kneph was interpreted as the world; and that the Mout of the Indians, a divinity of the

\* *Vide* the “Mémoire sur le Casque de Vulci,” by the Duke de Lanes, published in the “Nouvelles Annales de l’Institut. Archæologique,” already alluded to, 1836, vol. i.

† *Vide* Drummond’s “Origines,” “Notes on Sanchoniatho,” lib. v. ch. 4, and various astronomical authorities.

union of spirit and matter, is also represented with an egg.\*

The marks and indentations on some of the figures are supposed to have been tattooing, a practice well known among the early races. It was forbidden to the Jews;† Herodotus mentions it‡ as a brand of infamy; as a sign of servitude;§ and even a mark of honor among some nations—such as the Thracians.|| The Syrians and other eastern nations made marks on their skin to attach themselves to certain deities;¶ and it may, therefore, probably have been customary in some parts of Phœnician worship.

A large portion of the idols have tails, the meaning and interpretation of which are very uncertain; and, though Münter\*\* is inclined to interpret some of the figures on which they are remarkable, as fawns and satyrs, his explanations are unsatisfactory.

There appear to be many allusions to the astronomy of the Chaldeans, Syrians, and Phœnicians, such as the seasons, the sun's orbit, the perigee and apogee, different forms expressive of his rays and power, and the division, though not the signs, of the zodiac; which latter, though considered by some authorities to be of a Greek, and much more recent, invention, are by others attributed to a very early period.†† An elucidation of many of the symbols is also obtained by a reference to Horapollon.

Some of the idols are thought to be the Cabiri, from

\* *Vide* Guigniaut, "Relig. de l'Antiq." vol. ii. p. 14.

† Leviticus xix. 28. ‡ Lib. vii. ch. 35. § Lib. vii. ch. 233.

|| Lib. v. ch. 6. *Vide* Gaisford's notes on this last passage.

¶ *Vide* Fosbrooke, vol. i. p. 522, and Lucian de Deâ Syriâ.

\*\* "Sendschreiben," p. 4.

†† *Vide* Drummond, lib. v. ch. 4. p. 224.

the conical caps, the scarfs across the chest, and the implements supposed to be hammers—all known to have been some of the symbols in Samothracian worship, and derived from the Phœnicians, who called Hephæstus, the father of the Cabiri, Sydyck. Hence, as Münter says in his "Sendschreiben," "Dass übrigens die Kabiren in Sardinien vererbt wurden war ganz natürlich."\*

Without entering into the controversies on Phœnician divinities, we may examine the subject as simply connected with these idols.

The word Adon, previously described as occurring on one of the figures, is the Adonis of the Phœnicians, the Tammuz of the Syrians, analogous to the Osiris of the Egyptians, and the Sun of the Assyrians, according to Macrobius.† Lucian de Deâ Syriâ‡ gives an account of the orgies he witnessed at Byblus, in Phœnicia, in celebration of this divinity, resembling those in Egypt in honor of Isis and Osiris; and his festival is also described by Theocritus in his fifteenth Idyl. The characteristics of these Sarde representations of Adonis, correspond in many respects with those of the Egyptian Osiris, and their astronomical allusions have been supported by passages from Macrobius, Horapollon, and other writers.§ But they have a still higher interest as being the object of worship alluded to by Ezekiel: || "Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was toward the North, and behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz."

\* *Vide* also Münter. "Relig. der Karthager," ch. vii. p. 87; Drummond on "Sanchoniatho," lib. v. ch. 4. p. 200; Kreuzer "Symbolik," ii. 286; and Zoega "de Obelisc," 220.

† Lib. i. ch. 21.

‡ Chapter vi.

§ *Vide* Kreuzer "Symbolik," vol. i. 258, and "Selden Syntag." i. ch. 4.

|| Ch. xviii. v. 14.

Those supposed to represent Astarte, the Venus Fecundatrix, and Universal Mother, have apparently a beard, corresponding partially with Macrobius's account of the Cyprian Venus of Phœnician origin,\* and with the statement of Sanchoniatho,† that Astarte, the Venus of the Phœnicians, was represented with bull's horns resembling a crescent; and her attributes, as the Moon, mentioned by Lucian,‡ in her worship by the Zidonians, at her temple in Phœnicia, are traceable in some of the figures.

Calmet, in his "Dictionnaire de la Bible," thus describes the goddess:§ "Astarté était la déesse des bois, la lune, la déesse du ciel, la déesse céleste, ou la déesse de Syrie, ou Vénus Syrienne, épouse d'Adonis; enfin St. Augustin assure que Junon est nommée Astarté par les Carthaginois. C'était apparemment la même que la déesse Isis des Egyptiens, que l'on représentait ainsi qu' Astarté, avec une tête de bœuf, ou des cornes sur la tête."||

The worship of Adonis and Astarte may be partially explained by a comparison with that of Osiris and Isis, of which there are some highly interesting pictures in the Museum at Naples, with an explanation in the "Accademia Ercolanese;"¶ and it is unquestioned that Astarte is the Astaroth and Ashtoreth, as worshipped by the Israelites,\*\* and the Ashtoreth, "the abomination of the Zidonians;" and the "worship of

\* "Saturn. lib iii. ch. 8.

† *Vide* also Eusebius, "Præpar. Evang." 1—10. ‡ Chapter iv.

§ *Vide* "Astoreth." || See also "Selden Syntag." ii. ch. 2.

¶ Vol. ii. p. 312, 317.

\*\* Judges ch. ii. v. 13; ch. x. v. 6; 1 Sam. ch. vii. v. 3, 4; ch. 12. v. 10.



Solomon.\*" The idols in which the horns appear would probably be the Astaroth Carnaim of Genesis ; † for Carnaim means Horns.

The temple of the heavenly Venus, at Ascalon, mentioned by Herodotus, § was the most ancient of all the temples of that goddess, and is "the house of Astaroth." ||

Of the figures, supposed to be idols of Baal Moloch, one holding in the right hand a sword, and in the left a species of gridiron, inclined towards the ground, has six wings placed in different parts of the body, with a face hideous from the size and fierceness of the eyes.

Diodorus Siculus says, ¶ that the Carthaginians "had in their city a statue of Saturn, with his arms inclined downward for the purpose of letting the infant, which was laid upon them to be sacrificed, fall into the fire which was beneath.

Eusebius \*\* gives the same account. ††

Calmet, in his "Dissertatio de Molloch," says, "The Phœnicians placed in their deity two pair of eyes, one before and one behind, alternately open and shut ; four pair of wings, two extended, two closed ; they also added a third pair on the head. ‡‡

Some of the Sarde idols, though not entirely corresponding with these descriptions, shew a similarity in the wings ; and to convey an idea of terror and hideousness, the attributes of the divinity, the two unnaturally

\* 1 Kings ch. xi. v. 5 and 33 ; 2 Kings ch. xxiii. v. 13, 14.

† Ch. xiv. v. 5.

§ Lib. i. ch. 105.

|| 1 Sam. ch. xxxi. v. 10.

¶ Lib. xx. ch. 14.

\*\* "Præpar. Evang." lib. iv. ch. 6.

†† Vide also Silius Italicus, iv. 767 ; Plato in Minos ; Euripides "Iphigenia," 625 ; Plato in Clitarch., &c.

‡‡ Vide also "Selden Synt." i. ch. 5 and 6.

large eyes may have been placed in front instead of the pair before and behind ; while, instead of the arms being extended for the purpose of letting the victim fall, the sword and gridiron are used as emblems of the immolation ; and the inclination of the latter towards the feet may have conveyed the idea of the fire beneath.

According to many Rabbinical writers and other authorities, the colossal brass statues of Moloch had seven interior compartments, in which the victims were placed, and were heated with fire till they were burnt ; and something analogous may be traced in one of the figures,—no less hideous than the preceding in its expression,—which has an enormous mouth, with an aperture in the chest and stomach, and is marked with flames on the back.

Another has seven small cavities in the thigh, which may perhaps have referred to them ; and as it would have been very difficult to give the seven interior divisions in so small a figure, the wide mouth, with the cavity and opening in the stomach, may have represented the receptacle for the victims. The various forms of Moloch, and the modes of sacrifice as recorded, allow of these differences, and weigh but little against the assumption that these small Sarde idols were miniatures of the original great images.

In them therefore we find the objects of the abominations of the Canaanites and Phœnicians,\* and the horrors of the valley of Hinnom and Tophet ; which latter, though a part of the former, was so called from

\* Deut. ch. xii. v. 31 ; xviii. v. 10 ; 2 Kings ch. xvi. v. 3 ; ch. xxi. v. 6 ; 2 Chron. ch. xxviii. v. 3 ; ch. xxxiii. v. 6 ; Jer. ch. vii. v. 31 : ch. xix. v. 5 ; Ezek. ch. xvi. v. 20, 21.

the drums which were beaten to prevent the cries and groans of the children sacrificed, from being heard.\*

Among the figures interpreted as heroes and warriors, Melcharth, the Phœnician Hercules,—known also as the Orcul, “the light of all,” or the Sun,—has been recognised.

These emblems, mostly elucidating his astronomical character, and in accordance with the fact that Phœnicia and Egypt had temples to the Sun as Hercules, are interpreted also by passages in Eusebius† relative to his course in the heavens, and other mythological allusions.‡

But the worship of Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, and a connection with the planetary system, as supposed to be traced in some of the idols, are too much strained to be satisfactory.

A figure with an ostrich plume in the helmet, an emblem of chieftainship, as worn by Dion the Egyptian Hercules,§ has been supposed, also, from a resemblance between the head-dress and that in the medal of Sardus Pater, to have some reference to the Sarde hero; but the general characteristics of the warriors are horns attached to their helmets, a peculiarity described by Münter,|| Winckelman,¶ and by the Abbé Mignot.\*\*

\* *Vide* 2 Kings ch. xxiii. v. 10; Isa. xxx. v. 33; Jer. ch. vii. v. 31, 32; ch. xix. v. 6 to 14; &c.

† “Præp. Evang.” 3—11.

‡ *Vide* Kreuzer, Guigniaut, Selden, &c.

§ *Vide* Champollion, “Panthéon Égyptien,” plate 25.

|| “Relig. der Karthager,” ch. vi. p. 110; “Sendschreiben,” p. 22.

¶ “Storia delle Arti del Disegno,” lib. iii. ch. 4. sect. 42, and “Lettere” (articolo 13); and Barthélemy,” in the “Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,” vol. xxviii; “Memoire,” p. 579.

\*\* “Memoire sur les Phéniciens,” in the same work, vol. xl. p. 76, 77.

These horns, symbols of force in the divinities, are interpreted as those of valor in private individuals; and the Abbé Mignot observes, “*Les casques des Phéniciens étaient faits de la peau de quelque animal; les princes prenaient ordinairement celle d’un animal distingué par la force.*” To this may be added the passage of Herodotus,\* which speaks of the Asiatic Thracians having ox-horns in their helmets; the “*Insignis flexo galeam per tempora cornu,*” of Silius Italicus;† the *Cornularia* of Plautus, derived from one of the characters, a soldier so armed, and the troops wearing them being called *Cornuti*.‡

In their armour and weapons, the *ocrea* or gaiters, short javelins, and other points, indicate that some of the figures were light-armed warriors. Some have the breastplate carefully worked,—the *lorica hamata*, and not *squamata*,—while others have merely what may have been their linen vests.

This description corresponds with that of the Phœnicians given by Herodotus,§ except as to the roundness of the shields. La Marmora has translated the word *ῥους* as the bosse, but Larcher proves it to be the edges or borders, some of which are on the shields of the Sarde figures; but the difference from the description of Herodotus may be reconciled by the supposition that he was speaking of the Phœnician soldiers in the marine service, who, for convenience, would have their shields simple and flat.

The small shield, the *Pelta*, is also met with, answering to the description given by Strabo|| of the armour of the Sardes. “*Horum pellibus musmorum, tho-*

\* Lib. vii. ch. 76.

† Lib. i. v. 415.

‡ *Vide* also Voss., lib. i. ch. 27. § Lib. vii. ch. 89. || Lib. v.

racum loco utuntur peltam gestant, et pugeonem." Some have a rough armour supposed to resemble that of Goliath; and others have bows, strung and unstrung.

Many of the idols shew a similarity of dress to that worn by the Sardes in the present day; such as the bracca, or short full trousers, reaching half way down the thigh; the vest, with marks of buttons; the mastucca, and the conical cap; which latter is also prevalent in the Phœnician medals found in Spain.\*

Those interpreted as priests and priestesses, are recognised by a kind of robe, like the chasuble of the Roman Catholic priests; others, in addition to this robe, have a cap, the head shaved, and feet bare, corresponding to the description of the priests in the Phœnician temple of Gades by Silius Italicus.†

Some have apparently a rabbit in their hands; an animal considered among some nations sacred to Venus, from its fecundity, and therefore never eaten. Cæsar‡ mentions the custom as existing among the British; probably one of the many introductions of the Phœnicians.

Those having water vases in their hands are supposed to illustrate the passage of Lucian,§ which mentions the custom of not only the priesthood but the Syrians, Arabians, and those beyond the Euphrates, carrying twice a year some sea water to the temple of Astarte the Syrian Venus.

Others appear to be carrying cakes, part of the offerings made to Astaroth; and to which Jeremiah||

\* *Vide* "Flores Med. de España," tab. 56.

† "De Bello Punico," lib. iii. v. 24—29.

‡ "De Bell. Gall." lib. v. ch. 12.

§ Chapter xiii.

|| Ch. vii. v. 18.

alludes :—" The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto other gods, that they may provoke me to anger."\*

Among the other symbols and emblems of divinities, are the heads of dogs, cats, apes, birds, and indescribable monsters, objects of Phœnician worship, and partially explained through that of the Egyptians.

Some rudely-shaped boats, different in form to those in Egyptian remains, and ornamented with the head of an ox or heifer, though possibly articles of use, as common small baskets, have been supposed to allude to the story of Io. Her identity with Isis and her attributes as Venus Genitrix et Fecundatrix ;† her abduction from Argos by the Phœnicians ;‡ her transformation into a heifer ; together with the well-accredited belief that the Phœnicians were the first people who attempted to cross the sea in a ship,§ render it highly probable that a boat was the emblem of their divinity, as well as that of the Egyptians. Tacitus|| mentions that, " Part of the Suevi also sacrifice to Isis ; and the emblem made in the shape of a boat shews that the religion was imported," &c.

The last objects in the collection requiring notice are some bronze articles, which shew that astrology and

\* *Vide* also Guigniaut, vol. ii. p. 792.

† *Vide* Payne Knight, "Inquiry into Symbols, Languages, &c.," p. 54, and Winckelmann's note on one of the ancient paintings marked 576, in the Museo Borbonico, vol. ii. p. 134.

‡ *Vide* Herodotus, lib. i. ch. 1, and Larcher's notes thereon.

§ *Vide* Dionysius Periegetes, "Orbis Descriptio," v. 905, and the commentary of Eustathius on this passage.

|| "De Mor. Germ." ch. 9.

divination were no less parts of their creed than astrology, and correspond in many respects with the description of the images, domestic oracles, household gods, and talismans of the ancient eastern nations, but more especially with those known in the scriptures by the name of Teraphim.

The serpent, human head, stars, horns, and animals are the predominant characteristics, and some of them have rings through which it was probable the strip of leather passed by which they were suspended.\* According to Jahn, the Teraphim were images sculptured in imitation of the human form; † they were household gods; ‡ responses were sought from them; § and they were also connected with divination.||

The author of "Nimrod" thus speaks of the Teraphim, omitting his usual discursive matter and quotations.¶ "The Teraphim are represented in Calmet and elsewhere to have been oracular heads," &c. "It appears that they had become a general name of any symbolical images used in matters of religion, whether for the worship of God or of the deasters; \*\* but I should think they were in their origin similar to

\* For an elucidation of their meaning and their analogy with the Sphærule Hecatica and Rhombus Magicus, *vide* Selden "de Teraphim Syntagma," i. ch. 2; His "Thesaurus Antiq. Sacr." vol. xxiii., &c.; Eusebius, "Præp. Evang." lib. v. ch. 7; "Kreuzer apud Guigniaut," vol. ii. p. 102; Oliver, "Scrip. Lex." in Seraphim, and Jahn ch. 6. sect. 412.

† *Vide* 1 Sam. ch. xix. v. 13.

‡ Gen. ch. xxxi. v. 19, 34, 35; 1 Sam. ch. xix. v. 13—17; 2 Kings ch. xxiii. v. 24.

§ Ezekiel ch. xxi. v. 21; Zech. ch. x. v. 2; Judges ch. xvii. v. 5; ch. xviii. v. 5, 6, 14, 20; Hosea ch. iii. v. 4.

|| 1 Sam. ch. xv. 23.

¶ Art. Roma, vol. iii. p. 297.

\*\* *Vide* 1 Sam. ch. xix. v. 13.

the Hermetical Caduceus, and to that image which Hezekiah demolished."\*

The mode of consulting these oracles with their monstrous and absurd rites are mentioned in the Talmudistic accounts by Philo Judæus; by the Rabbi Eliesar (a very ancient writer quoted in Buxtorf's Lexicon, in Teraphim); and by Elias Levita quoted by Gaffarel.†

As none of these Sarde articles, or, as Münter calls them, "Hauslaren," have any resemblance to the Egyptian figures, to the household gods of the Greeks, or to the Lares and Penates of the Romans, but are essentially of an eastern origin, they may be rightly classed among the other eastern remains in the island, with every reason to believe they are the Teraphim of the Holy Scriptures. It will have been seen in this slight account of the Sarde idols, that owing to the scarcity of positive information on the Phœnician religion, the elucidation of many of them has been attempted by analogy with the Egyptian and with the Samothracian mysteries, though most of the principles and forms of worship in both the latter were derived from the former. The extremely rude workmanship of all the Phœnician remains is here peculiarly evident, whereas the Egyptian relics found in the island, especially those indicative of the worship of Isis, which was introduced at a much later period, are of a totally different execution and character; and another distinctive mark in the Sarde idols is the absence of the lotus, scarabæus, and other objects peculiar to Egypt.‡ But if the accounts of the Phœnician religion are rare and meagre, the em-

\* 2 Kings ch. xviii. v. 4, &c. † "Curiosities Inouies," p. 53.

‡ *Vide* Monseigneur Bès "Sur la liaison de la Religion de la Phénicie avec celle de l'Egypte," in his "Malta Antica Illustrata."



blems and symbols extant are still more so. Münter observes in his preface to his "Religion der Karthager," "Idole, von deren Karthagischem Ursprunge wir überzeugt sein können, haben sich bis jezt noch nicht gefunden. Vielleicht können sie dereinst noch, besonders in Sardinien, Corsica, und den Balearischen Inseln, entdeckt werden." "Up to the present time there have not been found any idols of whose Carthaginian origin one can be fully convinced. Such may perhaps be hereafter discovered, particularly in Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands."

These Sarde idols are, therefore, most valuable and interesting; and the explanations given to the various symbols,—though many, it must be acknowledged, are open to objection,—confirm in a general point of view the principles of the earliest idolatries, relative to which Movers makes the following remark.\* "The religion of all the idolatrous Syro-Arabian nations was a deification of the powers and laws of nature, an adoration of those objects in which these powers are considered to abide, and by which they act. The deity is thus the invisible power in nature itself, that power which manifests itself as the generator, sustainer, and destroyer of its works. This view admits of two modifications: either the separate powers of nature are regarded as so many different gods, and the objects by which these powers are manifested, as the sun, moon, &c. are regarded in their images and supporters; or the power of nature is considered to be one and indivisible, and only to differ as to the forms under which it manifests itself. Both views co-exist in almost all religions. The most simple and ancient notion, however, is that

\* "Die Phönizier, and *vide* Kitto, Art. "Idolatry," a portion of which we have already had occasion to quote.

which conceives the deity to be in human form, as male and female, and which considers the male sex to be the type of its active, generative, and destructive power ; while that passive power of nature whose function is to conceive and bring forth, is embodied under the female form."

Such ideas are supposed to have been embodied in these miniatures of the large and original idols adored by the Canaanites and Syro-Phœnicians,—the people who in every probability were the introducers of that religion into the island ;—an assumption strengthened by the apparently similar origin of the *Noraghe*, *Sepulture de is Gigantes*, and the *Perdas Fittas*, elsewhere mentioned.

Further inquiries may bring these rare remains into publicity, confirm the suppositions already advanced, and explain the emblems and symbols so unsatisfactorily mentioned in the apocryphal myths of the Heathens, but so indisputably denounced in Holy Writ by the God of the Christians.



## APPENDIX.

## No. I.

Inquiry into the Origin and Title of the Giudici.—Earliest Mention of them.—Revenues.—Form of Government.—Civil and Criminal Law.—Names and Boundaries of the four principal Giudicati. — Rivalries. — Papal Assumptions. — Tributes.—Weakness. — Social Condition.—Classes.—Military Force.—Arms.—Bishoprics.—Filiadura, a Form of Endowment in 1225.—Commerce.—Coinage.—Population.—Monks.—Ignorance.—Names and Dates of the principal Giudici.—Similarity to the Saxon Heptarchy.

As a peculiar period in the history of Sardinia, no less than one of interest to the historian, we may inquire who and what were the Giudici, the resident rulers of the provinces for several centuries previous to, and for four centuries during, the Pisan, Genoese, and Aragon contests for possession ;—but the information on their institution and on the early development of their powers is nearly as scanty as that of the preceding periods. The few records extant have been obtained from the archives at Rome, Genoa, Pisa, and from those in the Island which escaped destruction in the Saracenic invasions, which latter, though principally on ecclesiastical matters, indirectly throw light on this form of government. Manno has examined the subject, analysing, collating, and condensing his authorities with

diligence and acumen ; but he finds it to be, as Muratori did, so enveloped in obscurity that, “ forse a niuno sara dato di poter spargere lume sufficiente.”

The very origin of the name is involved in mystery ; and the only usage or analogy found in the history of the other states at a similar period, is among the Gothic Kings, who adopted it as one of their titles, according to Ammianus Marcellinus,\* when speaking of Athanasius ; but there is no account or even collateral evidence to prove the Goths left any of their laws or institutions in Sardinia.

Judex and Giudice not only implied a judge in the common acceptation of the word, but was then synonymous with king, prince and lord ; and, when the sceptre of the Giudicato was vested in the hands of a female, she bore the same titles ; so that, in various documents, the words Maestà, Re, Principe, Regolo, Donnu, Donnicellu, and Giudice, are given indiscriminately to the reigning chiefs, and the only instances where Podestà is used, are in the contracts with the Genoese republic.

The vain assertion of the Pisans† that they instituted this form of government after their expulsion of the Saracens in 1022, and that their patricians were the first elected to that dignity, is disproved ; and, on the other hand, the statement of Vico‡ that the Giudici existed in the fifth century, is unsupported by sufficient evidence ; but we find them mentioned in the letters of Gregory the Great, circa 598. Leo IV. addresses them in 848 ; and there is an account of Nicolas I. § endeavoring to check their incestuous marriages, as well as those of their subjects, about 864.

\* Lib. v.

† Part iii. ch. 20.

‡ Tronci all Anno. 1022.

§ “ Muratori Diss.” 32.

These, and the internal evidence in many of the documents in the island, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in which reference is made to their predecessors and their acts, are proofs of their existence anterior to the Pisan influence; and the name may be added as an indirect corroboration, for it is nowhere found in Pisan history as a title of supreme authority except in Corsica,\* where they placed a Governor with that title some time after their possession of the island in 1091, and whose authority only extended to two years' duration.

It is improbable that the haughty and envious Republic, whose highest dignity was Podestà, would have invested primarily with an authority so royal in its external character, a province over which it claimed dominion; or that it would have allowed the Giudici to be elected by the Sardes, and then have conceded the hereditary succession even to the female line; but it is undeniable that the Pisans, on their first possession of the island, appointed, in many instances, their own patricians; and endowed them with powers similar to those of the preceding Sarde Giudici. Of the many supposed origins of this form of government, the most natural seems to be, that, on the invasions of the Lombards and Saracens in the sixth and seventh centuries, when the island was neglected by the Eastern Emperors to whom it was nominally subject, the natives rallied round some leader in self-defence; that, though elective, the office and dignity assumed after a time an hereditary form; and, finally, that the "Duces" or governors of the island under the eastern empire, might have been the antecedent step to the popular and elective character of Judex. Though the claims of the Papal

\* "Cambiagi Stor. di Corsica," lib. ii.

See to any absolute dominion over them were asserted in 817, their independence at a later period, circa 850, is collected from a letter of Leo IV., in which he addresses one of them in terms of highest respect and honor, making his request as to an irresponsible potentate, which would not have been the case had the Giudice been his vassal ; but it is nevertheless evident, that the Popes had, by their ecclesiastical and political influence, obtained for the priesthood in the island an early participation in its government ; and it has even been supposed that they were the founders of the system.

There are no accounts of the early elections of the Giudici ; but from those of a later date, it is evident they were selected from among the richest and most influential persons, by the joint voices of the priesthood, the aristocracy, and the people in general assembly, in the presence of whom, on their election or succession, they swore to obey the laws and customs, and received the royal sceptre from the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of the Giudicato. The two first classes were considered to guard the liberties of the two last, and to counterbalance any arbitrary conduct of the Giudici ; and in the various documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there are evidences of the good working of this quintuple government. Their revenues arose from the crown-lands, which were inalienable ; from export and import duties, from the leases of fisheries, mines, and salt-marshes, and from fines levied on criminal offences. They could not act without the co-operation of the Curia, a court consisting of the bishops and principal persons, who, acting as his counsellors, were called " Savii del Re e della Curia ;" and who, when any treaties were entered into, took their oaths to the observance of them, as well as of allegiance to the

Guidice himself. The people were admitted to hear the discussion of public acts of legislation ; and all political alliances, treaties, and negotiations were proclaimed in the churches. The different communes united and chose their syndics, who in their turn elected among themselves one who represented all the communes of the district, and who attended the general assemblies of the Curia, as the delegate of the people ; a mode of election particularly alluded to in a document where the Giudicessa Eleonora orders her people to deliberate on, arrange, and confirm the articles of peace. The Curia took cognisance of internal as well as external affairs, and settled both public and private disputes, in which the Giudice, when present, was supreme Judge. The Cancelliere, who had under him the Notajo, or Registrar of Acts, seems to have been the chief law-officer and Prime Minister, and was generally selected from the priesthood, as being more learned than the laity.

In the absence of a Giudice from his province, a Viceroy was appointed ; and in each Giudicato were Curatori, persons selected from the highest ranks to attend to the administration of affairs in each Curatoria or department, with a public secretary ; and under them were sub-curatori in the communes, who, with ten to fifteen of the “*migliori del luogo*”—the upper classes—formed a kind of magistrate and jury to take cognisance of crimes and disputes in their respective districts. The subordinate officers were the *Maggiori di Scolca* and the *Maggiori di Porto*, whose jurisdiction extended over the boundaries and cultivation of land, and the port-dues ; and the *Armamentarij* were in the composite character of bailiff, constable, and assessor. The courts called *Corone*, were of three kinds,—*di Luogo*, *di Settimana*, and *di Corte*.



The civil law, based in most of its principles on the old Roman, was as advanced and well maintained as in other parts of Europe ; and in the *Sos Kertos*, or civil causes, both plaintiff and defendant might plead in person or by proxy, "*torrare verbum da parte sua.*"

The criminal law abounded in the absurdities and anomalies of the age, though in many respects its simplicity and justice were remarkable. But the criminals generally fled into another *Giudicato* ; so that if there happened to be a war between two provinces, the certainty of escape acted as an incentive to crime ; and so numerous were the refugees, and dangerous to each province, that about the year 1257, the extradition of criminals and accused formed part of several treaties between the *Giudici*.

It is supposed that the whole island was originally comprehended in one *Giudicato*, of which *Cagliari* was the capital ; but that in the course of time the local interests of each grew sufficiently self-important to cause a subdivision and establishment of separate *Giudicati* ; but the minor partitions, such as *Ogliastra*, *Chirra*, and *Colostrai*, which assumed a distinct jurisdiction, were soon swallowed up in the others ; and only four remained of which there is any precise history, namely, *Pluminis* or *Cagliari*, *Arvaré*, (called afterwards *Arborea*), *Gallura*, and *Ardara* ; which last was more generally known as *Torres* or *Logudoro*. The exact divisions of these four provinces are nowhere clearly laid down ; but they appear to be as follows in the ninth century :—

*Cagliari* was bounded on the south, east, and west, by the sea ; and on the north by *Arborea* and *Gallura*, by a boundary line from about *Capo Pecora* on the western coast, proceeding on the north of *Monte Linas* and the *Stagno di San Luri*, then following the *Di Mara* stream.

up to the Sarcidano district to the Corno di Bue on the north side of the Monte Argentu, and from thence to Capo di Monte Santo, on the east coast.

Arborea, bounded on the north by Logudoro, on the north-east by Gallura, on the south and east by Cagliari, and on the west by the sea, extended from Capo Nieddu on the western coast, by the north side of Monte Lusurgiu to the Monte Gonari and Gallura boundary on the east.

Gallura, on its north and eastern sides, was bounded by the sea; on the south by Cagliari, on the west by Arborea and Logudoro. The inland boundary appears to have commenced at the mouth of the Coghinas or Termo river, and continued with its windings to the Monte Acuto, then over the Bitti plain and Monte Oliena to Capo di Monte Santo.

The remaining province, Logudoro, was bounded on the north and west by the sea, on the south by Arborea, and on the east by Gallura.

These divisions of the island were naturally dangerous to its strength, well-being, and independence; for the rivalries, jealousies, intrigues, and warfares between the different Giudicati, not only broke up the national spirit as an entirety, and debased the individual character, but in subsequent periods enabled the Genoese and Pisans to profit by the disunion, and carry out the principle "divide et impera," to which their success was attributable. Hence, also, the number of bishops, clergy, and monks who existed in those times; and such were the baneful effects of this evil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that the ecclesiastical disputes were no less acrimonious, injurious, and constant, than the political and foreign warfare. But while these internal dissensions were carried on, the Giudicati were

subject also to foreign aggression, claims, and dominion. Though that of the Pisans, in 1050, was never thoroughly established nor definitely acknowledged by all the Giudici, it was nevertheless so paramount, that the Papal See soon contested it.

In a letter of Gregory VII. (circa anno 1074) homage and allegiance are required from the Giudici, with temporal and spiritual threats in case of refusal; but the various applications made to the Pope by foreign states for permission to conquer the island, prove that neither Rome nor Pisa were in absolute possession. The recognition of the authority of their masters is shewn by different documents, mentioning the annual tribute to be paid in acknowledgment of submission; such as that of Mariano, the Giudice of Cagliari, who engaged in 1108 to send annually a pound of pure gold and a ship load of salt to Pisa; of Constantino, of Gallura, who in 1165 gave 100 lire, then about 28*l.*, and twelve pair of falcons; and, in 1166, Pietro of Cagliari sent annually to Genoa a scudo of bread, two glasses filled with pepper, and two barrels of wine. Personal service and fealty were also performed: for Barisone, Giudice of Logudoro, went to Pisa to exculpate himself for the murder of some Pisans by his subjects, paid a fine of 6,000 lire (then about 1,680*l.* sterling), and acknowledged himself vassal of the republic. The terms of submission and tribute to the Papal See were somewhat similar. Benedetta, Giudicessa of Cagliari, acknowledged her vassalage to Pope Honorius III. in the year 1224, by the annual payment of twenty pounds of silver; the Giudici of Gallura only swore to obey the Pope in all things. Pietro of Arborea, in 1237, paid 1100 lire, then about 308*l.* sterling; Adelasia, Giudicessa of Torres and Gallura, about the year 1238, gave four

pounds of pure silver ; and Comita III. of Arborea, in the same year, enters into an engagement not to contract any marriage without the consent of the Papal See. These instances suffice to prove their tributary obligations ; and it would be equally easy to shew the frequent forfeiture and easy transfer of allegiance, owing to the imperfect authority exercised by their temporal and nominal masters. Subject to attacks from all parties, their oath of submission and tribute made to one to-day, was cancelled by acts of homage and vassalage to another on the morrow ; and being neither strong enough separately nor unitedly to resist a foreign yoke, self-preservation and advantage were their only considerations and policy ; and though by these constant changes their minds were familiarised with the instability and worthlessness of any contract and engagement, and the consciousness of inability to oppose tended to debase their sense of honor and duty, yet when uncompeled by external oppression, their natural character shewed itself in the most elevated and generous actions. In the social condition of the Sardes under these rulers, a few chiefs exercised an "imperium in imperio ;" but they seem to have been scarce exceptions ; and, as a general rule, the Giudici reserved to themselves and their courts, both the civil and criminal jurisdiction.

Of the three classes into which the Sardes were divided, the first consisted of the reigning family, the government functionaries, the Magnesi, or rich and powerful aristocracy, and the principal ecclesiastics ; the second comprehended the middling people, and the third was composed of the servi, or serfs, called also schiavi, slaves ; which latter, both male and female with their descendants, were bound to perpetual service, unless they were emancipated ; and their manumission

was similar to that of the Romans. The "muniaria" were a class of servants regularly hired; the serfs, called "servi de cadadia," worked daily for their masters, who were obliged reciprocally to provide for them; others only worked every third week for their masters, the rest of their time and profits being at their own disposal; a serf born from parents belonging to different masters, served half the third week for one, and half for the other; and a "condoma" meant a couple of serfs, male and female, with their children and habitation, who were bought, sold, or exchanged like the serfs or slaves of any other country. Servitude was also a punishment for crime, enforced by the law; and severe chastisement was inflicted on fugitives.

The military force consisted of the "liberi" and "stipendarii;" the former of whom were exempt from taxes and other obligations to the state, and the latter were hired.

The shield, the short lance peculiarly known as the "verga Sardesca," the veruta, or long spear with iron head, and the sling, were the arms of the infantry; the sword and shield, those of the cavalry.

In ecclesiastical affairs, the Giudici seem to have exercised a right of approval or rejection in the election of the bishops and abbots. In the Giudicato of Cagliari was the archbishopric with the bishoprics of Sulci, Dolia, and Barbagia; in Arborea, the archbishopric of Tarro (subsequently of Oristano), with the bishoprics of Uselli, Santaguista, and Torralba; in Logudoro, the archbishopric of Torres, with the bishoprics of Sorra, Ploaghe, Ampurias, Castra, Ottana, Bisarcio, and Bosa; and the Giudicato of Gallura had only two, Civita and Galtelli, which were generally under the immediate jurisdiction of the Papal See.

The churches and monasteries possessed large landed property, with villages in the state of servitude previously mentioned, many of which endowments—written in the Sarde language, and called “condaci,” from the Latin *condere*, to form, erect, or institute—are in some respects valuable records. In several of them is a custom curiously illustrative of the influence of the priesthood, called *Filiadura* or the adoption of a child, and is in reality the endowment of a church, shrine, or monastery, with the same share of property as would be given to a son; the appointment, in fact, of a co-equal holy legatee. The clergy received, independently of their income from church property, the full tithes and first fruits of all the agricultural and pastoral produce.

As a specimen of the legal forms and usages then prevalent, as well as of the language, the following document, an endowment for the benefit of a bishop and a tutelary saint, may be interesting:—

“Ego Benedicta de Lacon cum filiu meu Donnigellu Guglielmu, pro boluntadi de Donnu Deu potestandu parti Calaris fàzzula custa carta ad sanctu Iorgi de Suelli pro beni killi fazzu. Dàulli assu Donnu miu Sanctu Iorgi de Suelli sa domestia mia, k’esti intru de saltu de sanctu Iorgi, ad ki narant sa domestia de padru de Sisini. Et dàulli in Iana totu su fundamentu dessa billa errema de Jana jossu de liurus, ki fudi arregnada et dauella cum totu sas pertinentias suas, plazzas et terras aradorias et saltu et aqua et cum totu cantu si appartenada adi cussa billa. Et si perunu tempus illoi bolint torrari hominis ad istari in cussa billa, sus cantuilloi anti istari totas sas arrasonis et cergas k’enti depiri fairi de personi o de causa adsu regnu o ad peguliari o ad curadori o ad majori de scolca o ad armentariu totu las

fazzant adsu Donnu miu sanctu Iorgi. Et totus sus serbus at issas ankillas de sanctu Iorgi ki sunti, o anti essiri a istari in Janu siant assoltus et liberadus de omnia serbitiu de personis o de causa issoro; ki non fazzant serbitiu perunu de personis et non denti intradia nin trada peruna de causa issoro ni a regnu ni a peguliari ni a curadori . . . ni a perunu homini dessu mundu: si no tuto su cantu furunt usadus de fairi o de dari o assu regnu o a peguliari . . . . tuto illu fezzant et denti a s. I . . . a boluntadi dessu Piscoleu Donnu issoru. Et i custu beni ki fazzu a s. I. no apat balia perunu Judigi ki pus me adi essiri, nin Donnu, nin Donnigellu, nin peruna personi dessu mundu ad istru marillu ni ad minamarilla ad s. I. . . . apatsindi pro canto adi durari su mundu ca pro donnu Deu illu apu fattu et pro s'anima mia et de marchesu Guglielmu patri miu, et de contissa Adelasia mama mia et pro ki siatmi s. I. patronu ante Deu et in custu mundu et in s'atteru; et pro amantia de Donnu Cerkis piscobu miu de Suelli, ki mi fudi padri et amigu bonu. Et sunt testimonius Donnu Mariani s'arkipiscopu miu, Donnu Gontini Madellu arkipridi de sancta Maria de Clusu . . . et pridi Cumida Dezzori canonigu de sancta Cecilia. Testimonius de logu Cumida Dezzori de Enoni et Cumida Daceni tadaiu. Et est facta cussa carta, A.D. M.CC.XXV. vi. id. jul. habendumilla sa curadoria de Campidanu a manu mia pro logu Sabaldori. Et killaet devertere apat anathema daba Pater et Filius et Sanctu Spiritu, et daba XII Apostolus, IIII Evangelistus, ecc. ecc."

"I, Benedicta de Lacon, with my son the Donnigellu Guglielmo, by the will of the Lord God governing the province of Cagliari, make this endowment to St. Jorgi de Suelli, of the possessions which I make over to

him. I give unto my Donnu St. Jorgi all my part which is in the woods of Jorgi, and which is called the Forest of Sisini. And I give all my lands and houses of the deserted villages of Jana, which was enclosed ; and I give it with all its appurtenances, the fields, arable lands, woods, and waters, and whatever else belonged to the village. And if at any time hereafter people should wish to return and dwell in the village, whatever may be the duties and payments which they would have had to perform and make to the state, to the owner, or to the curatore or the majori de scolca, or the armentariu, let them make it henceforth to my Donnu St. Jorgi. And let all the male and female servants of St. Jorgi which are or may hereafter be in Jana be freed and emancipated from all personal service or payment to any one in their affairs ; so that they do no service of any kind for any one, neither to the state, nor to any individual, nor a curatore, nor to any person in the world. But whatever they have been accustomed to do for or to contribute to the state, or to an individual, let them do it for and pay it to St. Jorgi, at the will of their Donnu the Bishop. And these possessions which I present unto St. Jorgi, let no Giudice who may succeed me, nor any Donnu nor Donnigellu, nor any other person in this world, alienate them or withdraw them from St. Jorgi, but let him hold them as long as the world endures, because I have done this for the sake of my Lord God, and for my own soul, and for that of the Marchesu Guglielmu my father, and for that of the Contissa Adelasia my mother, and that St. Jorgi may be my patron before God not only in this but in the other world, and also for my affection for the Dunnu Cerkis, my bishop of Suelli, who has been a father and good friend to me. And the Donnu Mariani, my archbishop,



the Donnu Gontini Madella, the chief priest of Santa Maria de Clusi, and Cumida Dezzoni, priest and canon of Santa Cecilia, are my witnesses. Cumida Dezzoni de Enoni, and Cumida Daceni my bailiff, are witnesses in reference to the place. This endowment is written in the year of our Lord 1225, on the 6th of the ides of July, having the Curatorio of Campidanu as a place of protection. And whoever shall attempt to upset this, may he be damned by the Father and by the Son and by the Holy Ghost, and by the twelve Apostles, and by the four Evangelists, &c. &c."

The state of commerce anterior to the arrival of the Genoese and Pisans, though unknown, may be presumed to have been most insignificant; but by their knowledge, activity, and maritime habits, they not only soon obtained the monopoly, but entered into commercial treaties with the Giudici, demanding and obtaining peculiar privileges; and which, like the political contracts, only endured as long as the presence and power of the one or the other republic could enforce and maintain them, so that the commerce may be considered to have been rather the spoil of the contending powers than the profit of the natives. That barter and exchange were the general usage is clear, from the absence of any record or evidence that money was coined by the early Giudici. The only two coins that have been discovered are of a later period, one is about the size of a two-shilling piece, having on the obverse an eagle, with the inscription, *Fredericus Imperator*, and on the reverse, a cross surrounded with two circles and the words *Facta in villa Ecclesiæ,—Pro Communi Pisano*, which would therefore be between 1220 and 1250. The Zecca of Villa Iglesias was not coined till after the extinction of the Giudicato of Cagliari in 1258, at which period and

subsequently, the Pisans, for whom it was made, were in possession of the mines of Sardinia. One lately discovered has a tree, with the words *IVDEX ARBOREE* on the obverse, and on the reverse, *ET VICE COMES NARBOE*, which leads to the conclusion that it was coined by Guglielmo [II.] Count of Narbonna, and Giudice of Arborea, circa 1404.\* It was doubtless the policy and interest of the Genoese and Pisans to prevent the coinage of money in the island and to circulate their own; and their having done so is fairly to be adduced as an evidence of the dependence of the Giudici on the two republics.

In the commission appointed by Pope Alexander III. in the year 1176, to inquire into the disputes between them relative to their rights and privileges in Sardinia, mention is made of the usury and extortion they practised on the Sardes in interest and exchange of money.

The population during the reign of the Giudici is supposed to have been about a million and a half; and the employments of the people were essentially agricultural and pastoral; the commerce and export trade being confined to the same commodities as were produced and sold when the island was subject to the Roman sway; nor is there any allusion to any arts or manufactures, though many remains prove that painting and architecture were cultivated with considerable success in the later periods of the Giudici; and the costume appears to have been the same in the ninth as in the nineteenth century.

The monks profess to have conferred the benefit of the revival of learning as early as the eleventh century; but though there is evidence of their presence, and of

\* *Vide* "Revue Numismatique," Février, 1845, imprimée à Blois, par M. de la Saussaye.

the advantages they received, there is none to corroborate the truth of their boast ; and facts on the contrary shew that it was not till a free intercourse with Italy and Spain was established, that the darkness in which the Sardes had for so long a period been involved gradually disappeared. Manno gives a list of 114 monasteries, convents, and abbeys existing in the twelfth century ; and, on a moderate calculation, that each contained twenty members, there would have been 2280 individuals dependent on religious charity, and probably many more of which there is no documentary evidence. An instance of the enlightenment of the Sarde church at that period, is the oath which some of their bishops took never to speak to their parents, brothers, or sisters !

From this brief outline of their political and social condition, the Sardes appear in some respects to have been in a lower state of degradation, and in others in advance, of the rest of Europe. In proportion to their weakness, was the slowness of the recovery from the invasions of the barbarous races ; and the rough and ferocious stamp impressed on the national character has been in some points indelible even to the present day. The seeds of every species of crime were sown ; incest, adultery, murder, rapine, and vendetta produced a fearful harvest, and were rather increased by a subjection to the priesthood and belief in their power of forgiveness, than diminished by exhortation to amendment. It was in vain the successors of St. Peter alternately fulminated their anathema and poured their flattery on the Giudici as might best serve their temporal interest ; necessity, policy, and advantage were more effectual masters of Sardinia than the Papal See, Genoa, or Pisa ; and the dejected natives, incapable of resistance, were continually plunged by external ambition and intrigue

into internal dissention and warfare, instead of being benefited by the introduction of civilisation.

But little is known of the names and dates of the early Giudici from the few Sarde documents which have escaped destruction, and nothing from the Pisan annals anterior to the middle of the eleventh century. Even at that period, there is such uncertainty and discrepancy in the accounts of those said to have been nominated by the Pisans, that it forms an additional evidence of the invalidity of their claims to the creation of the office and title.

Without entering into minute inquiries and the differences of opinion on the chronological and genealogical order of the Giudici of the four provinces, a brief summary may suffice to shew the first and last of whom there is any authentic information, and from whom a continuous succession has been proved.

In the Giudicato of Cagliari, a Berengarius — the earliest of the unbroken series, is supposed to have died about the year 900. Guglielmo Cepolla, the last Giudice, after being defeated, together with his allies the Genoese, at the castle of Castro, by the Pisans and the Giudici of Gallura and Arborea, fled to Genoa, and died there in 1258, bequeathing the little territory and power then left him, to that republic ; and the rest of the province being divided between the Giudice of Gallura and Gherardesca party, the Giudicato of Cagliari thus ceased to exist. In Logudoro, a Giudice, named Gonnarius, appears to have lived about the year 1000. After the failure of Brancaleone Doria to obtain the Giudicato from Michael Zanche, the last of the Giudici, in 1276, the Pisans, under Ugolino della Gherardesca, defeated the Genoese—then in possession of it—and having thereby annulled the Papal authority, they assumed the nominal dominion over the province,

with the exception of Sassari, which had become a separate republic.

The first Giudice of Gallura mentioned with any certainty, was Manfredi, a patrician of Pisa, about the year 1050 ; and the influence of that republic prevailed for nearly 400 years in the Giudicato, notwithstanding the various contentions for its possession. The Giudici may be said to have become virtually extinct in Giovanna, or her uterine brother, Azzone ; but the Visconti family continued to possess certain territories and rights in the province till 1447, when Filippo Visconti bequeathed them to Alonso V., King of Aragon.

In Arborea, a Mariano is recorded to have lived about 1050 ; and Leonardo Cubello, the last Giudice, after a long siege in his capital, by the Aragonese troops, capitulated on the terms that he should retain his city, the Campidano plain and fortresses, together with the Goceano district, in vassalage to the King of Aragon, with the titles of Marchese di Oristano and Conte di Goceano. With him terminated the Giudicato in 1410, and the feudal titles and rights became subsequently an appanage of the Aragon crown, and have descended to the present Savoy dynasty.

From these facts it will be seen, that no direct succession, either by descent, election, or even by name, can be traced to an earlier date than about 900 ; though we have found the Giudici individually mentioned about 598 ; and we may conclude the subject with observing the many points of similarity between this form of government, with its law and usages, and that of England under the Heptarchy, from 547 to 827, when the several kings had virtually the same power as the Giudici of Sardinia ; and the value of both their titles

seems to have been chieftain, in the highest sense of the word. Regarded as royal commanders, their authority, nevertheless, depended on the people by whom they were elected to the throne; and the custom of succession and inheritance merged in both countries into a positive right. Their revenue was raised from the same sources, and the crown property could not be alienated.

The national court, the Wittenagemote, is in name synonymous with the Curia of the Savii del Re, which in both languages is the assembling of the "wites," "sabii," or wise men. The preambles to the laws of Ethelbert, down to those of Canute, shew that the court was convened to, and requisite for, the enactment of laws and the ratification of acts of public administration, both legislative and judicial; shewing thereby proofs of a limited and legal government; and the bishops and abbots were as essential members of the assembly as the chiefs of the aristocratic families. Whether a third class, consisting of deputies, was admitted, is a matter of dispute; but, with the exception of this uncertain point, there is a very strong resemblance in the rest of the composition of the Wittenagemote to that of the Curia dei Savii;—such as their convention, the systems of Borough-reeve and Syndic, with its form and usages; and in the administration of the law, the Shiremote, the courts of the Decennary, and the Hundred, were equivalent to the Corone di Corte, di Luogo and Settimana. Both people were sub-divided into three classes; and we find a close analogy in the Magnesi and Thaness, in the free or middling classes and the Ceorles, and the Servi or slaves and the Villeins. In this latter class the similarity is remarkable, both in respect to the rights and privileges which the masters

exercised over them, as well as in the different kinds of slavery and servitude. In both countries the ecclesiastics took a leading part in the administration of public affairs ; and the hierarchy of Sardinia was as sacred and honored as that of England, where by the laws of some of the provinces of the Heptarchy, the price of the Archbishop's head was even higher than that of the King's. It is unnecessary, though it would be easy, to give further proofs of similarity in the institutions of the two countries ; but those above are sufficient to shew their analogy without the appearance of there having been the slightest connection or communication with each other, or derived from the same origin.

## APPENDIX.

## No. II.

Feudalism introduced by the Pisans in 1050.—Despotism of the Barons.—Frequent Laws for the Protection of the People.—General Insurrection in 1795.—Protest and Protocol of the Feudal Communes.—Angioy's Insurrection.—Peculiar Features of the Sarde Feudalism.—Copy of a Grant in 1364.—Comparison with those in other Countries.—Examples of Tenure, Dues, &c., of different Sarde Feuds.—Their Number. Abuses and Corruption.—Anecdotes.—Popular Song.—Abolition of Feudalism by Carlo Alberto in 1836.—Autocratic Mode of Suppression.—Results of the Measure.—Comparison with the Abolition of Feudalism in Sicily and Hungary.—Policy of Carlo Alberto.—Commemorative Medal.—Compliment to his Minister, Villa Marina.

FEUDALISM, from what is ascertained of the early government of the Giudici, had in its general character no existence in Sardinia anterior to the Pisan, Genoese, and Aragonese influence; the only element of that system traceable under them being vassalage,—a condition which has existed separately and unconnectedly in various ages and different nations.

Though lands may have been held by a species of tenure equivalent to our free and common socage, yet the vassalage was of so different a character to the serfdom in other countries where feudalism prevailed, that it is an argument, *in ipso*, against the existence of that system in the island, previous to its introduction in the twelfth century.

The earliest legal and testamentary documents bear



rather the impress of gifts and grants than the exercise of feudal rights. An example may be found in an instrument dated 1050, by which Torquitore di Gunale, Giudice of Cagliari, gave to the archbishop of that diocese certain villages, together with the inhabitants of the district, and the cottages, lands, waters, and vineyards belonging thereto, on condition that he and his successors should send persons to administer justice, prohibiting, at the same time, any interference by the government officers in the affairs of the village, without the consent of the archbishop. Numberless other documents of a similar tenor are extant; but none of them prove the nobility to have possessed the usual power of feudalism, anterior to the middle of the eleventh century. Its introduction may be attributed to the Pisans and Genoese, on their feudal expulsion of the Saracens in 1050, and its more perfect establishment to the Gherardesca, Sismondi, Muttica, Donoratici, Doria, Malaspina, and other families, who, by conquest, reward, or purchase, became possessors of landed property.

In the thirteenth century, the chiefs of factions and districts enjoyed an hereditary and absolute dominion over their fiefs; and the changes and introductions of new forms with usurpations by the Aragonese nobility, in the fourteenth century, when grafted on the preceding, constituted a system of feudalism different from that contemporaneously existing on the continent.

When the abuse of power and privilege had gradually increased, till the spirit of freedom among the Sardes broke out in rebellion against the vexatious tyranny of the barons, the Aragon and Spanish monarchs also found it necessary to repress the arrogance of the nobles, who in various instances opposed them, and to

conciliate the affections of the people, by enacting various laws for their defence. The *Capitula Curiarum Regni Sardiniae*\* gives various ordinances, the earliest of which bear the signature and date of Don Pedro IV., the Great, in 1361, for the establishment of their rights against the abuses of their oppressors; and the demands of the *Stamenti* are of a similar tenor.

But though the feudal aristocracy began gradually to find itself checked by the royal edicts, it was not till Filippo IV., in 1636, issued his† “*Leyes y Pragmaticas Reales*,” that definite laws were enacted for the mutual rights of baron and vassal. The eighteenth and nineteenth *tituli*, lib. i. of that code, comprehend unitedly forty-three chapters on the subject; and though evincing an anxiety to give judicial order and protection to the vassals, they shew, nevertheless, that an excessive power was still vested in the hands of the baron and sovereign.

The Savoy dynasty, after its possession of the island in 1720, professed to attempt many reforms in the abuses which had again crept in, but by its despotic and vacillating principles, the evils, instead of diminishing, increased to such an extent, that, in 1795, an outbreak against the nobility occurred, which, in conjunction with the disputes between the *Sassarese* and *Cagliaritani*, and the claims of the *Stamenti* in reference to their rights of legislation, produced a general insurrection. Public documents were signed by the people swearing to effect the suppression of the tyranny, and their vows were partially performed. It was in vain that the nobility circulated notices that a reduction should be made in their dues and services; the promised allevia-

\* Lib. iii. tit. 2, “*De Gravaminibus*,” *Dexart*, vol. ii. p. 316.

† *Vico*, lib. i. p. 248.

tion was too late, and the offers of protracted justice were only responded to by the burning of their palaces, the cutting down of their groves, the destruction of their crops, and seizure of their flocks and herds.

Sassari, though fortified, was attacked by a body of 10,000 men, and an entry having been made, the barons residing there were obliged to escape precipitately, and leave their houses to be pillaged by the assailants; the archbishop and governor flying to Cagliari. The communes in the provinces soon joined in the outcry, headed by the ecclesiastics, the principal persons, and by many of the nobility.

The articles of the Protocol, dated March 17th, 1796, to which they bound themselves were these : \*—

“ 1. All the undersigned communes have unanimously resolved and sworn no longer to recognise any feudality; and, to effect this, to have immediate recourse to the proper authorities to redeem themselves by a sum which shall be determined by the government as just and fair.

“ 2. Knowing such a resolution, as just in itself, as advantageous to the public welfare, to the inhabitants, and to the interests of his majesty, has not met with the approbation of the feudal barons, and that they intend to oppose to it every possible obstacle by means of their agents, bailiffs, collectors, and adherents, and by promising and paying considerable sums to corrupt persons; the confederated villages have unanimously resolved and sworn, that in the interim, and until they receive the decision of the sovereign and superior courts upon the above-named redemption, which they hope to obtain through his justice and clemency, they will not permit the feudal barons to appoint their officers,

\* Angius, Logudoro, p. 284.

agents, or judicial ministers, or any other administrator, in the above-mentioned communes ; for this would prevent the attainment of the desired redemption, and deprive the communal council and persons zealous for the public good, of the power to represent abuses in the execution of justice ; the frequency of crimes remaining unpunished as much through the ignorance of the members of these tribunals, as through the protection constantly granted by the feudal barons and their officers to criminals and malefactors ; and the great innovations in the exaction of many feudal rights by the tyranny and menaces of the said officers and administrators ; of all which, at proper time and place, the most convincing and sufficient proofs can be given.

“ 3. That the Communes confirm also unanimously their protestations of union and obedience to the Viceroy ; to the supreme Magistrate of the Reale Udienza ; to the three Stamenti ecclesiastical, military, and royal, residing in Cagliari, who alone can constitutionally represent the entire Sarde nation ; and to the Alternos appointed to the government of Sassari and Logudoro ; and that acknowledging the prudence, wisdom, and advantage to the kingdom of deliberations emanating from these authorities, they adhere and confirm to them entirely, and solemnly contradict (‘smentire’) all the reports spread to the contrary.

“ 4. Inasmuch as there are not wanting traitors and enemies of the public weal, who will endeavor by every means to subvert the good effect of these useful determinations, therefore the villages have unanimously resolved mutually to assist each other, to defend themselves under any circumstances, and to repulse by force any violence or attempt against the confederation col-

lectively, or any of its members individually, directly or indirectly, under any pretext whatsoever.

“ 5. In order to prevent any person from being corrupted or unwarily misled, they have also determined to permit no discourses to be held contrary to these necessary and useful resolutions, and that whosoever shall oppose them, or take the part of the feudal barons, or speak against the measures of his Excellency the Viceroy, the decrees of the Reale Udienza, the deliberations and representations of the Stamenti, and also the enactments of the Alternos for Sassari and Logudoro, shall be considered an enemy to his country, and banished for ever from the confederated communes, and they declare subject to the same penalty whosoever shall defend, protect, or give them assistance or protection.

“ 6. Lastly, they declare their entire approval of all the operations, petitions proposed and laid before his Majesty in the name of the Sarde nation, by the three Stamenti; they protest that the unanimous wish and desire of all the inhabitants of the confederated communes has been in favor of a full and absolute acquiescence from his Majesty to all the demands submitted to him by the Archbishop of Cagliari, as deputy of the nation; inasmuch as they contain the essence of their political constitution, to which they demand a scrupulous conformity, as well as to all the privileges, usages, and fundamental laws of the kingdom; and to obtain this they are resolved to make every effort, and shed the last drop of their blood. Without the entire concession of these and the other demands which may be proposed by the Cortes, the real welfare of the country, and the tranquillity of the inhabitants, can never be obtained; and each and every other means

which may be used are considered useless and inefficacious. And in order that these deliberations may be known to all the kingdom, they shall be drawn up as a public and solemn document, binding the undersigned counsellors of the above-mentioned communes and other inhabitants of the same upon their oaths to observe and cause to be observed, these said deliberations."

Here follow the attestations, &c.

The circulation of this document caused a general movement. The government law-officers of the different districts supported the vassals with a confirmation of the legality of their insurrection; while the priests, denouncing the barons as ministers of darkness, proclaimed a crusade against feudalism as a heresy, and the cause of freedom in which their blood should be spilt as just and holy. The popular feeling was further aroused by an insurrection under Angioy, in the commencement of the following year; but his endeavors to effect a total political change absorbed the specific grievance of feudalism; and the failure of the latter was involved in that of the former. On his retirement the government sent delegates from Cagliari, with an armed force to restore peace and order in the district where the opposition to the Barons still existed; and after several conflicts with the people, a general truce took place, and though not concluded by a satisfactory concession to the vassals, it had the effect of checking the barons, and warning them against a repetition of their abuse of power. Of course there were exceptions to the general feeling of hatred and rebellion, and one of several instances was mentioned to me by a friend, whose father, on hearing of the attack on Sassari in 1793, immediately proceeded thither to defend his palace, and on his arrival found that his vassals had anticipated him,

and were defending it against the attacks of the assailants. They had acted spontaneously, and from pure regard for their feudal lord.

Though the sore was thus temporarily healed, the latent disease was still working and affecting the whole constitution, and a radical cure by extermination being the only remedy, was commenced by the present King in 1836. Before examining his measures, we may take a slight view of the old system and its abuses, so as to form a more correct estimate of the change.

The feudalism, a union of those of Italy and Aragon, comprehended various tenures, similar in their powers to our franc tenement, with knight's service, or in free socage, pure villeinage, villein socage, and privileged villeinage. The "*allodio jurisdizionale*" comprehended the "*absolutum et directum dominium*" as well as "*dominium utile*," and a poll-tax, arbitrary in its sum, was raised on all males above eighteen years of age, the married men paying in a different proportion. The perpetual residence of the barons, and the inalienability of the feuds, were fundamental principles.

The Kings of Aragon had their own feuds, receiving certain dues, both in specie and kind, from the vassals, and actual service from the barons ; but the grants and diplomas varied, not only in the details and extent of privileges, but in the different districts of the island. One, dated 1364, by Pedro IV. to the ancestors of one of the principal Sardinian nobles (to whom I am indebted for a copy) is a grant of property in the island.

IN CHRISTI NOMINE.

NOS PETRVS,

DEI GRATIA,

Rex Aragoniae, Valentiae, Maioricarum, Sardiniae, et Corsicae,  
Comesque Barchinone, Rossilionis, et Ceritaniae.

Cedit nobis ad gloriam, multaque cor nostrum exultatione laetatur, cum in domo nostra regia, nostroque assistentes lateri, ex nostris alumnis praecipue viros conspicimus discretionem vigentes, et eos quos clari sanguinis generosa propago nobilitat ad actus strenuos, et nobiliores gradus, tam continuata obsequiorum exhibitione, quam pura mentis affectione, ut probat affectus operis provisione suis expossentibus meritis incitatur. Propterea ad memoriam reducentes servitia laude digna, quae progenitores vestri dilecti conciliarii nostri Petri Boyl militis, puta Petrus Boyl qui miles avus vester Majordomus Serenissimi Domini Jacobi Regis Aragonum avi nostri memoriae recolendae, prout praeteritorum fide dignorum gesta commemorant, ipsi Domino Regi avo nostro in regno Siciliae, et subsequenter in regno Almariae, et denique Ill<sup>mo</sup> Domino Regi Alfonso, tunc infanti, genitori nostro, recordationis eximiae in regno Sardiniae, ubi in ejus servitio in Villae Ecclesiarum fecerunt terminum vitae suae. Necnon ea, quae Raymundus Boyl miles, pater vester, tam nobis quam dicto domino patri nostro fideliter praestiterunt. Nec minus grata plurimum et accepta obsequia per vos nobis multipliciter et foecunde praestita, cum semper a pueritia vestra servitiis nostris assidue institeritis. Et ex quo armorum exercitii fuit vobisabilitas quamquam vos juvenilis adolescentia excusaret, servieritis nobis in armorum stipibus sumpto a nobis militiae gradu, et decore nobilitatis, antequam ad insulam Sardiniae transierimus, ad quam vos transivistis nobiscum, illucque simul cum nobili filio vestro Petro Boyl in expugnatione Alquerii ad mortis articulum devenistis, infirmitatis causa, et de mandato vestro; vobis redeuntibus, ad cismarinas partes, pro salutis obtentu, tandem saluti pristinae quodadmodum restitutus in dictum regnum Sardiniae, motu proprio reddidistis, quod detinent revenientibus ad has partes, causa infirmitatis, vel alias in vobis locum habuit singularem. Necnon aliis locis et temporibus quamdiu nos vacavimus, seu gentes nostrae armarunt, circa



expeditionem armorum vos utique vacavistis. Ulterius feceritis pro nobis diversas legationes ad diversos Reges Maurorum non sine personae vestrae periculo, et labore, et quod non est praetermittendum silentio, sumpto nuper in nostri mandato, capitania officio in civitate Valentiae quam Rex Castellae iam antea dura obsidione perstrinxerat, intendistis simul cum exercitu, dictae civitatis circa recuperationem effectualem Castri de Podio, quod per dictum Regem Castellae fuerat occupatum, quodque in se seu posse ipsius Regis erat, ob locorum vicinitatem et propinquitatem aeditiosum non parum dictae Valentiae civitati, et cum Joannes Alfonsis de Xerica non paucis equitibus et peditibus Regis Castellae veniret ad deobsidendum Castrum ipsum, vos cum aliqua parte dictae civitatis exercitus, qui erat in obsidione dicti Castri, dicta Joanni Alfonsio de Xerica obviam exeundo illum et eos qui cum eo erant viriliter devicistis, pluribus ex ipsis in ore gladii interemptis, et pluribus in captivitatem deductis, et postmodum vobis dictum Capitaniae officium exercentibus, dictoque Rege civitatem ipsam tenente obsessam circa defensionem et restaurationem ipsius, non paucos subiistis diurnos et nocturnos labores, ipsiusque Regis ac suorum, qui dictam civitatem quotidianis impugnationibus infestabat, strenue et viriliter simul cum aliis nostris fidelibus dictae civitatis habitatoribus restitistis usque ad nostri adventum in civitatem eandem, a qua seu ejus obsidione, cum dictus Rex nostrum adventum a manu potenti, et praeparato proelio, nostris signis extensis praesentiret, ad Villam Muri veteris, per eum a nobis perditionaliter occupatam celeri passu non erubuit fugere proelii iudicium, pertimescens vel ut injustitiae, et mala causa descidens, et tunc dicto Rege profuge remedium evadente, nobisque dictam civitatem victoriose intrantibus, vos ut Capitanius ejusdem nobis civitatem eandem salvam ab inimicorum impetu suffragente Domino die vigesima octava mensis Aprilis proxime praeteriti, qua nobis recedentibus de Villa Burriane manu armata ut praedicatur ipsam civitatem intravimus reddidistis. Quibus omnibus debita meditatione pensatis, dignum decrevimus, ut nostrae Regiae liberalitatis munificentia, vos tanquam benemeritum gratiose et favorabiliter prosequamur. Igitur vos dictum Petrum hujus nostris scripti oraculo ad Baronis gradum, honorem et titulum proprio nostro motu extollimus, et ex nostrae potestatis plenitudine promovemus, vosque et totam vestram progenituram,

seu posteritatem admodò gaudere volumus, ubique terrarum perpetuis temporibus, Baronis gradu et titulo, et nobilitatis honore, ac omnibus illis immunitatibus, gratiis, praerogativis, libertatibus, et franquitatibus, quibus regni homines et Barones terrae nostrae melius et uberius gaudent, et soliti sunt gaudere, tam usu et consuetudine, quam aliis omnibus viis, modis, formis, et conditionibus, quibus vestri et vestrorum posterorum ex vobis descendunt, quomodolibet quod fertur valeat adaptari. Vltèrius volentes quod a nostra Regali munificentia necdum honoris gradu, sed etiam praerogativa alicujus utilitatis et commodi gaudeatis motu proprio ut praefertur damus et concedimus praesentis tenore nobili filio vestro dicto Petro Boyl in Sardinia commoranti qui nobis in expugnatione Alquerii viriliter interfuit, et successoribus suis perpetuo eodem titulo Baroniae in feudum honoratum ad consuetudinem Cattaloniae dominium, et saltus de Potfigar, cum omnibus ejus terminis, habitantibus et habitaturis, et omnimoda jurisdictione civili et criminali, quod quidem dominium seu saltus confrontantur cum terminis locorum de Alger, de Vri, de Villanova, de Lomodo, de Itiri, sicut enim confrontantur, et terminantur dictus locus, et dominium, cum omnibus suis pagis, et territoris, sic ipsos, vel ipsa vobis perpetuo donamus et concedimus, pura et perpetua donatione et irrevocabili, cum omnibus iuribus et obventionibus, et exitibus, ac redditibus, ut ea teneatis pro nobis, et nostris successoribus in feudum ut praedicatur honoratum. Damus insuper vobis et vestris perpetuo in feudum etiam honoratum ad consuetudinem Cattaloniae castrum et locum nostrum de Boyl, in regno Aragoniae situatum, a quo progenitores vestri cognomen ab antiquo sumpserunt, cum aldeis, et terminis ac pertinentiis suis universis, et cum militibus et omnibus hominibus, et foeminis eiuscumque legis, et conditionis existant, indictis castro, et loco, et eius terminis habitantibus et habitaturis, et cum mero et mixto imperio, et omnimodo iurisdictione civili et criminali, et cum petytiis, demandis, iuribus, coenis et albergiis, ac redditibus ordinariis, censibus agrariis, et foris, capiis, furnis, molendinis et macellis, aliisque iuribus universis a parentibus et non a parentibus, sicut et melius et latius praedecessores nostri habuerunt et possiderunt, et nos habemus et possidemus cum omnimoda integritate, nulla retentione inibi per nos facta, nisi solum quod ea teneatis pro nobis, et nostris successoribus in feudum honoratum, et est certum quod

dictum locum et castrum, seu eius termini confrontantur cum terminis locorum de Ascinsa, de Torrezilla, de Morcat, de Bellostas, de Sasa, de Castellaco, de Artussa, et de Castuellosa, sicut enim confrontatur, et terminatur dictus locus et castrum, sic ipsum, vel ipsa vobis et vestris perpetuo damus et concedimus, pura et perfecta donatione, et irrevocabile cum suis iuribus antedictis, et aliis expressis et non expressis quocumque nomine nuncupent. Quae quidem iura, quaecumque sint aut fuerint nobis competentia de iure, et foro, usu, et consuetudine regni, aut alias, quamvis non expressa pro expressis haberi volumus et decernimus, et in presentibus donationibus totaliter comprehendi, ac si in eis fuissent expressa specialiter et distincte, et praedicta omnia quae vobis damus de iuri posse, dominio, et proprietate nostri et nostrorum, ea in ius proprietatem et dominium, ac corporalem possessionem vestri seu quasi vestri et vestrorum mittimus, et transferimus irrevocabiliter pleno iure confitentes, et recognoscentes ipsa omnia, et singula vestro nomine precario possidere, donec inde possessionem vacuum et expeditam assequuti fueritis seu adepti, quae adipiscendi, et adeptam retinendi vestra propria auctoritate, vobis liberam concedimus huius serie facultatem, et nihilominus cum hac eadem iniungimus gerenti vices gubernatoris in Sardinia et Aragonia, vel eius locumtenenti, et aliis nostris officialibus dictorum regnorum illi vel illis ad quem, vel quos proinde recursum habueritis, quod ad vestri requisitionem, et huius cartae ostentationem nullo alio mandato nostro quomodolibet expectato vos, aut patrem vestrum inducant in possessionem eorum, quae, ut praedicitur vobis, damus et inductum in ea manu teneant, viriliter defendant. Vterius mandamus tenore huius, quem vicem epistolae volumus gerere in hac parte, militibus et dominabus, hominibus et foeminis in dicto loco et castro habitantibus et habitaturis, in eorumque terminis vos et vestros perpetuo successores per veros dominos habeant et teneant, vobisque et eis pareant et obediant, aut praestent vobis seu procuratori vestro iuramentum fidelitatis et homagium, vassalagium et naturalitatem, quibus nobis et praedecessoribus nostris tenebantur hucusque. Nos enim praestitis vobis dictis iuramento fidelitatis, homagio et vassalagio ipsos omnes et singulos absolvimus, et absolutos reddimus et nominamus a praedictis iuramento fidelitatis, homagio et naturalitate, et alia quavis obligatione, quibus nobis adstricti existant, seu modo aliquo teneantur dicto iure feudali re-

manente nobis et nostris successoribus, semper salvo, et in signum traditae possessionis de praedictis, quae in feudum, ut praemittatur, vobis et filio vestro damus, vos per ensis nostri traditionem de eisdem praesentialiter investimus. Et ego dictus Petrus nomine proprio, et in nomine filii mei recipiens a vobis dicto domino rege donationes huiusmodi cum gratiarum humili actione confiteor pro vobis et successoribus vestris eas in feudum honoratum tenere ad consuetudinem Cattaloniae, vosque et vestros successores semper recognoscere pro directis dominis ipsorum feudorum, et alias vos et ipsos recolligere, in ipsis iratos et pacatos, quoties a vobis, et ipsis fuerimus requisiti omniaque alia et singula facere atque tenere feudatarie, secundum usum et consuetudinem Cattaloniae. Pro quibus vobis presto in praesenti iuramentum fidelitatis et homagium, ore et manibus commendatu. Mandamus itaque nos dictus Rex per hanc eandem procuratori nostro generali, et eius vices gerentibus, aliisque universis et singulis officialibus, et subditis nostris praesentibus et futuris, contra omnia et singula superius enarrata firma habeant, teneant et observent, faciantque ab aliis irrefragabiliter observari, et in huius rei testimonium mandamus praesentem cartam nostram fieri, nostraque bulla plumbea comuniri.

Dat. Valentiae sexta die Mai, anno a nativitate Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo quarto, regni nostri vigesimo nono.

Rex Petrus ✚ Signum Petri, Dei gratia, regis Aragonum, Valentiae Maioricarum, Sardiniae, Corsicae, comitesque Barchinone, Rossilionis et Ceritaniae.

Testes sunt:— VITALIS, Episcopus Valentinus.  
JACOBVS DERTYSEN,  
FRATER GREGORIUS, Marroquitanus episcopus,  
ALFONSVS, comes Rippartiae et Denie,  
ENRIQVS TRESTAMEN, comes ; milites.

✚ Signum PETRI BOYL, qui dictam donationem in feudum, et investituram ipsius feudi accepit, et vobis dicto domino regi inde iuramentum et homagium, prout superius continentur presto. Testes huius rei sunt videtque in firmamento dicti Petri Boyl, qui dictam investituram recepit in loco de Cullaria die vigesima se-

cunda Mai, anno praedicto, dictus comes Ripatiae et Denie, et Luppus de Gurrea, ac Petrus Guellermi, Cattalani milites.

✚ Signum mei JACOBI CONESA, secretarii dicti domini regis, eiusque auctoritate notarii publici per totam terram et dominationem eiusdem, qui premissis interfui, eaque scribi, feci et clausi.

This example of the Aragon-Sarde infeudation of that period suggests a comparison with the rights, duties, and privileges of the English baron during the reigns of the Norman sovereigns.

The Aragon "Rico hombre" held of his king or chief an honor or barony by military service, for which he was to perform homage and fealty on receiving investiture; and the lands which he thus held of the crown he distributed among his vassals, to be held of him by a similar tenure. His order formed the second estate of the Cortes, without whose consent no law could be enacted or repealed, nor any tax imposed; and his service was fixed at periods averaging between two and three months in each year, when, if summoned, he with his feudatories was bound to attend his sovereign, and assist in the judicial and deliberative business of the Cortes. In England, the baron held his fief of the king, in chief, as of his crown, by barony—a tenure the quality of which was defined by the amount of relief, viz. 100 marks, paid by the heir of the deceased tenant on being admitted to the possession, for which he was bound by the obligations of homage and fealty to perform military service to his chief lord according to the number of his knight's fees; to pay suit to the king's great court, and attend, whenever summoned, the Parliament of the kingdom (of which his own order formed the second estate), whether assembled for granting aids and scutage, or for legislative and judicial

purposes. Thus far there may have been an analogy in the feudal systems of the two countries; but the principal difference is in the original position, powers, and principles of the sovereign. In England the monarchy was never elective; the king made no formal compact with his barons to divide and share with them the territory he might conquer; the fundamental maxim being, from a very early period after the Conquest, that all land belonging to any subject is holden mediately or immediately of the sovereign; whereas the Aragonese in the early part of the ninth century, after escaping the sword of the Mahommedan, assembled together in the valley of Sobrarbe and elected a chief, and among the articles of covenant with him it was agreed that their leader or chief should share with them whatsoever territory he should conquer from the enemy. But even though the *Fuero de Sobrarbe* should be rejected as fabulous, we learn that before the period of the capture of Saragoza from the Arabs in 1118, the government of Aragon was a species of "regal aristocracy, where a small number of powerful barons elected their sovereign on every vacancy, though out of one family, and considered him as little more than the chief of their confederacy. These were the *Ricos hombres* or barons, the first (temporal) order of the state. Among these, the kings of Aragon, in subsequent times, as they extended their dominions, shared the conquered territory in grants of honors on a feudal tenure." \*

The powers conferred in this and similar grants are very extensive, and the whole document offers many interesting points to the antiquarian.

Another, dated 1431, by Alfonso V. is a sale as well as a grant of a feud and barony for 1500 gold florins of

\* Hallam, "Mid. Ages," part ii. chap. 4.

Aragon, and the privileges conceded by it were extensive. Besides the possession of the towers, fortresses, houses, buildings of every description, woods, waters, mountains, plains, and vallies, comprehending inhabitants in esse and posse, absolute jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, and the right of making peace and war, the baron was empowered to erect gallows, to use the stick and knife, to imprison, condemn, absolve, banish, hang, torture, whip, beat, punish by mutilation of the feet, nostrils, and other parts of the body, and to sequestrate the goods of their vassals, without their power of appeal to the government officers. This seems to have been the tenor of the generality of diplomas at that period; and the following exemplifications of the customs and payments of some of the feuds are adduced to shew how heavily such a system weighed upon the people, and to assist any inquiry into the relative feudal dues of different countries. The current coin, the lira, was then worth seven times its present value, and the calculations are made accordingly.

The tax paid by the inhabitants of the villages of Montalba, in the year 1358, was 490 lire Sarde, or 137*l.* 4*s.*; that imposed in Posada obliged every vassal to offer a candle to the Virgin Mary, on her festa in August, or pay ten soldi, 5*s.* 9*d.*

The village of Mores (which gave a title to the illustrious Manca family) paid to its lords the "su feu," a species of poll-tax on the vassals, who were of three classes; the first paying eight reals, about 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*; the second, half that sum; and the third, as well as every married son in a family—"bagadios,"—who had attained his eighteenth year, about 5*s.* All who sowed and ploughed, paid the "laor de corte," a due of about four bushels of wheat and the same of barley; but

they who worked without a plough, and solely with a spade—the “cozzula” system,—and not sowing more than about five bushels, were exempt from the dues; though if they exceeded that quantity, the baron received a quarter of the whole. By the “Deghino de sus vaccas,” the vassals paid a bull of three years old; the same with a heifer also, was the tribute of the tenants not under vassalage. In the “Deghino de sus verveches,” on every “segno” or flock of sheep, or goats, varying in number from fifteen to twenty-five, three chosen pregnant animals were the due of the vassals; but from tenants not in vassalage, four of the same and a sheep—semel tonsu—only once shorn. For every twenty-five breeding pigs, about 15*s.* 6*d.* per segno; and if above that number, double the dues. By the “Sa pudda de corte,” every feud paid thirty-six hens—contributed chiefly by those who ploughed ground; but the priests and nobles were exempt, as well as the syndics, officers of forests, and giurati of the courts, during the year of their service. Every carica of wine—about one hogshead and three-quarters, paid about 5*s.* 5*d.*

In some feuds, such as Terra nova, a due was payable in kind, on the exportation, importation, and sale of almost every article of commerce; in others, a species of heavy octroi duty was paid by strangers; and in Iglesias the vassals were even prohibited from trading with those of another jurisdiction.

In many districts the feudal rights and dues appear to have been successfully resisted, especially by the Gallurese,—that free and warlike people having been always willing and able to resist the extortions and assumptions; and an event is still in the memory of some of the inhabitants of a village, where a baron having attempted the honor of a daughter of one of his



vassals, was publicly hooted, insulted, and injured, but could not defend himself or enforce his rights, though holding his diploma and grant of criminal jurisdiction, gallows, knife, and torture.

An instance of fixity in composition for dues may be given in the feud of Lanusei, where, on the abolition of feudalism in 1836, the people, imagining their dues would be released, or at least that they would pay nothing to the king, claimed the exemption from the following circumstances:—A Marquis de Chirra, their baron, having fallen into the hands of an enemy, applied to his vassals for a sum of money towards purchasing his redemption, and which they effected on condition of the marquis fixing the dues at a certain sum, and swearing that he and his successors should abide by it. This oath, called the *Capitoli di Grazia*, was so stringent an obligation, that neither he nor his procuratore or bailiff could enter upon his lands without formally swearing on the boundary-stone of them that he would continue to abide by the agreement; and this stone has been called to the present day "*La pietra del giuramento*," or, "the stone of the oath."

At the end of the eighteenth century, the barons living in Spain had feuds containing 198 "*popolazioni*," or populated places; those in Turin 11; and the resident barons in the island 107; which, together with 68 belonging to the crown, made a total of 384. Two centuries previously, they amounted to 797, including 40 towns. It may be incidentally mentioned, that while the number at the end of the eighteenth century was 384, and that of Sicily at the same period only amounted to 343, the actual population of Sardinia was much under 500,000, and that of Sicily exceeded 1,600,000. By the various changes in the

tenure of the feuds, previous to their abolition in 1836, 32 belonged to the king, with plenary jurisdiction, 114 to Sarde barons with, and 42 without, jurisdiction. The rest were held by Spanish nobles. In the province of Cagliari there were, in 1835, 24 feuds, 1 of which belonged to the crown without any population, 1 to the archbishop, 12 to Sarde, and 10 to foreign nobles, having respectively 1,—11,—and 840 population, which unitedly paid vassalage dues amounting to more than 500,000 lire nove, or 20,000*l.* sterling.

From these details we may proceed to the abuses which caused the rebellion of the vassals in 1795, and eventually the total abolition of the system in 1836. Among the foremost was the absenteeism of the barons, whose agents or middlemen, exercising every species of extortion, “wrung from the hard hands of peasants,” not only a sufficient sum to satisfy the wants of their extravagant masters, but to secure for themselves a comfortable livelihood. The amount claimed by the baron was small in comparison to the sum obtained; he received but little from his steward, though the latter dealt largely with his master’s stores.

No less grievances were the judiciary system by which the baron was at once judge, accuser, and lord of his vassal, and the excessive power and corruption of the judges appointed by him to preside in his little courts; for, with a payment insufficient for their existence, these Giudici Baroniali obtained the requisite means by every species of bribery, knavery, and trickery. Their policy was to encourage, instead of allay and settle, disputes; and the wealthy or influential found an easy method of gaining a favorable judgment, for law and justice were synonymous with interest and falsehood; the fuoruscito or malvivente might be safe, while

the injured party stood in dread of both enemy and judge; and the poor and innocent witness might be pining in the miserable baronial prison, while the false and guilty accuser was the constant host and friend of the administrator of the law. The peasants having no representative to expose or defend them from the extortionate collection of dues and taxes, had the greater part of those burdens on their shoulders; and in some of the feuds they paid sixty and seventy per cent to their employers, who, though vassals of a higher degree, paid nothing to the baron himself; this exorbitant sum being obtained by labor and hardship of the most appalling character. Positive cruelties no less than vexatious exactions, kept the vassals in a continual state of hatred of their lord, as well as fear of his agents; but their misery in many instances was only to be equalled by their degradation. The following anecdotes may be relied on, being authenticated by parties cognisant of the facts.

The father of a nobleman now holding one of the highest appointments under the Piedmontese government, and from whom I received the anecdote, was walking with his friend in one of his feudal estates in the island; and feeling tired, called to one of his vassals, then digging in the field, to come to him. The poor peasant obeyed, and was immediately ordered to "*situare carpone per terra*," to place himself "on all fours," on his hands and knees upon the ground, which having done, the feudal Baron leisurely sat upon his back till he was rested. His friend, unable to suppress his feelings at such an act, subsequently spoke to him about it, to which he merely replied in Spanish, "*No es nada; dexelo hacer: es bueno que asi se mantengan en el respeto che deven a los Señores,—estos*

picaros !”—“That is nothing—let him do it ; it is quite right they should thus behave themselves with the respect they owe to their lords,—the wretches that they are !”

A similar demand was made by another feudal Baron ; but the peasant drawing his long knife,—a species of bayonet,—from his girdle, and sticking its handle in the ground, indignantly replied, “*Sezat si subra di essa bayonetta,*”—“There, sit down upon that knife ;” and afterwards told him that he would sooner put the knife through his own, or the baron’s body, than submit to be his footstool.

One of the barons fixed and exacted the tribute of a sixteenth of all grain grown by them, in compensation for the loss *he might* sustain,—not that he had sustained, by the mice getting into his corn magazines ; a tax which was recognised and proverbially known as “*Su moixeddu de is topis* ;” or the “measure of the mice.”

These, among many examples mentioned to me of the oppression and debasement existing a few years ago, may be concluded with the famous song composed at the insurrection of the vassals in 1795. It was then the popular chant of the party,—the Marseillaise hymn of the island ; and though the government and nobles endeavored to suppress its circulation, as they do at present, it is well known and appreciated by all parties for the spirit and truth in which the abuses of the Sardinian nobles are depicted. Manno, whose cautious and “censored” pen would not have dared to mention it, had not his sovereign abolished feudalism, thus speaks of it,\* though he does not give the words, nor have they ever been published, as they contain so many admir-

\* Manno, lib. v., anno 1796, vol. v. p. 94.

able sketches of the manners and customs of the noblesse, and painful truths of the Sarde hatred of the Piedmontese.

“ Among the popular compositions of that period against the feudal noblesse, the recollection of one composed in the Sarde dialect of the northern province, the refrain of which was advice to the barons ‘to moderate their tyranny,’ will last for ever. It was written by the Cavaliere Francesco Mannu, a young man of hot temperament, though concealed beneath a lukewarm surface, endowed with extraordinary intellect, and by the clearness of his reasoning and great legal learning, much appreciated in the military Stamento, of which he was a member. It is not long since that he died, with the reputation of an uncorrupted magistrate and first-rate lawyer, crowned with the praise of exalted beneficence by the bequest he made of all his possessions to an hospital at Cagliari. He knew how to clothe in sentiments excited by poetical bile the historical records of the noblesse, as well as the neglect of the ancient feudalism, and knew, moreover, how to paint in strong colors the abuse of the attempted exercise of power, the increased freedom from imposition, the neglected duty of administering justice, and the exercise of that exalted prerogative abandoned to the hands of underlings (employés). But, above all, the poet shewed himself most warmly inspired, in the description of the daily libertinage of the baron and the delicate affectation of the baroness in the lamentation at the useless squandering of his rents, and in placing in opposition to this picture of levity and vice, the exhausted, miserable, and oppressed existence of the vassals. The deeply-felt indignation of the poet is very observable in the poem, when he alludes to the 28th of April,

1794; and finally, in the vigorous warnings and exhortations to the vassals, to avail themselves of the opportunity of that time for humbling the despotism of the barons. The verses were satirical transports, and on that account exaggerated, but in the general excitement of feelings, there was no other composition which so well laid bare to the life the feudal yoke."

The literal translation of the song here subjoined, does not convey any idea of the force and spirit of the original.

Procurade moderare,  
Barones, sa tirannia ;  
Chi si no, pro vida mia,  
Torrades a pe in terra.

Endeavor to moderate,  
Oh barons !\* your tyranny ;  
For if not, upon my life,  
You will be humbled to the  
ground.

Declarada est già sa gherra  
Contra de sa prepotenzia,  
E cominzat sa passienzia  
In su populu a faltare.

War is e'en now declared  
Against oppressive power,  
And patience in the people  
Is beginning to give way.

Mirade, chi est azendende  
Contra de bois su fogu :  
Mirade, chi no est giogu,  
Chi sa cosa audat de veras :  
Mirade, chi sas aeras  
Minettana temporale,  
Zente consizada male !  
Iscultade sa boghe mia !

Look to it—there is a fire  
Kindling against you all :  
Look to it—'tis no light matter,  
But the thing is serious truth:  
Look to it—for the heavens  
Are menacing a storm.  
Oh ! race most ill-advised  
Listen to my voice.

No apretedas s'isperone  
A su poveru ronzinu,  
Sinò a mesu camminu  
S' arrempellat de apuradu.

Do not apply the spur  
To your poor weary steed,  
Lest in the middle of your  
course  
He should resist you and rebel.

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\* Under the title of Baron are comprehended all the feudal nobility.

Mizi chi est lanzu a canzadu  
 E no ndè potet piusu ;  
 Finalmente a fundu in fusu,  
 S' imbastu nde hat i betare.

Su populu chi in profundu  
 Letargù fit sepultadu,  
 Finalmente dispertadu,  
 S' abbizal chi est in cadena  
 Chi stat suffrendo sa pena  
 De sa indolenzia antiga :  
 Feudu ! leze inimiga  
 A bona filosofia.

Che chi esseret una biuza,  
 Una tauca, una cunzadu,  
 Sas biddas hana donadu  
 De regalù, o a vendizione ;  
 Comente unu cumone,  
 De Bestias Berveghinas,  
 Sos homines, e feminas,  
 Stan bendidu cun sa iria.

Pro pagas mizas de liras  
 E tate borta pro niente,  
 Isclavas eternamente  
 Tantas populaçiones :  
 E migliares de persones  
 Servin a unu Tirannu ;  
 Poberu Generu Humanu !  
 Pobera Sarda Zenia !

Deghe o doighi familias  
 S' hau partidu sa Sardigna ;  
 De una manera indigna  
 Sin nde sun fattas pobiddas ;  
 Divididu s'hau sas biddas  
 In sa zega antiguedade ;  
 Però sa presente edade  
 Lu pensat remediare.

See him so meagre and fatigued  
 That he can endure no more ;  
 At length in dire confusion  
 He will upset his burden.

The people which in profound  
 Lethargy was buried,  
 Finally awakened  
 Perceives itself in chains,  
 And suffering the penalty  
 Of ancient indolence :  
 Feudality ! a law opposed  
 To all sound wisdom.

As though they were a vine,  
 A field, or an inclosure,  
 The villages they have given  
 As gifts, or sold for gain :  
 And like a herd  
 Of cattle, and flocks of sheep,  
 They have sold men and women  
 With their unborn babes.

For a few thousand livres,  
 And sometimes for nothing,  
 Are enslaved eternally  
 Whole populations :  
 And thousands of persons  
 Serve a single tyrant :  
 Poor human species !  
 Poor Sardinian race !

Ten or twelve families  
 Have divided all Sardinia ;  
 By unworthy means  
 They have become its masters :  
 They apportioned its villages  
 In remote ages ;  
 But the present day  
 Will seek to remedy it.

Naschèt su Sardu suggetu  
 A milli cumandamentos ;  
 Tributos et pagamentos  
 Chi fagheu a su Señore  
 In bestiamen et laore,  
 In dinari et in natura ;  
 E pagat pro sa pastura,  
 E pagat pro semenare.

The Sardinian is born subject  
 To a thousand hard commands ;\*  
 Tributes and exactions  
 To be paid to his lord  
 In cattle or in labor,  
 In money or in produce ;  
 He both pays for pasturage,  
 And pays for sowing.†

Meda innautis di sos feudos  
 Existiana sas biddas ;  
 E issas fiana pobiddas  
 De saltos et bidatones.  
 Comente a bois, Barones  
 Sa cosa anzèna est passada ?  
 Cuddu chi bol' hat donadu  
 No bos la podiat dare.

Long before feudality  
 The villagers existed ;  
 They were then the lords  
 Of the woods and cultured lands :  
 How then to you, oh Barons !  
 Could the wealth of others pass ?  
 Whosoever gave it you  
 Had not the power to give it.

Nó est cosa presumibile  
 Chi voluntariamente  
 Stapat sa poberu zente

It is not to be presumed  
 That of their own free will  
 The poor folks should have  
 yielded

Zedidu a tate derettu ;  
 Su titulu ergo est infettu  
 De sa infeudacione,  
 E i sar Biddas raxione  
 Tenen de la impugnare.

To exactions such as these :  
 The title then in fact  
 Is from their infeudation,  
 And the villages have a right  
 To call it into question.

Sas tassas in su principiu  
 Exigiazis limitadas,  
 Daipustis sun andadas  
 Dogni die aumentende ;  
 A misura chi creschende  
 Sezis audados in fastu,  
 A misura chi in su gastu  
 Lassezis s'economia.

Your taxes in the beginning  
 Were exacted within limits,  
 But soon they went onward  
 Every day augmenting ;  
 In proportion as increasing  
 Your luxury increased,  
 In proportion as in spending  
 You left off all economy.

---

\* By arbitrary exaction, the lords compelled their vassals to serve them in a domestic capacity.

† The vassals paid one head of cattle for every flock, also a certain duty called "Deghino," in kind, on grain for sowing.



Ne bos balet allegare  
 S'antiga possessione ;  
 Cà minetende presone,  
 Cun castigos et cun penas,  
 Cun zippos et cun cadènas,  
 Los poberos ignorantes,  
 Derettos exorbitantes  
 Stazis forzadu a pagare.

A su mancu si impleeren  
 In mantenner sa justìcia,  
 Castighende sa malissia  
 De sos malos de su logu ;  
 O a su mancu disaogu  
 Sos bonos poderdu tenner,  
 Potèran audare, e benner  
 Segùros per i sa via !

Est custu s'unicu fine  
 De ogni tassa et derettu,  
 Chi segùru et quiettu  
 Sutta sa leze si bivat ;  
 De custu fine nos privat  
 Su Barone pro avarissia ;  
 In sas cosas de giustissia  
 Faghet solu economia.

Su primu chi si presentat  
 Si nominat offissiale ;  
 Fattat bene, fattat male,  
 Mentras no chirchet salariu.  
 Procuradorio, o notariu,  
 O camareri, o lacaju,  
 Siat murru, o siat baju,  
 Est bonu pro guvernare.

It will not serve you to allegè,  
 Your ancient possession ;  
 But by menacing with prisons,  
 With punishment and penalties,  
 With cords and with chains,  
 The poor and ignorant,  
 You have forced them to pay  
 Your exorbitant demands.

If at least you did employ it  
 In the maintenance of justice,  
 Punishing the wickedness  
 Of bad men in your district ;  
 Or if the good at least  
 Could enjoy tranquillity ;  
 If they could come and go  
 In safety on the roads :

This is the only end  
 Of every tax and power ;  
 That in security and quiet  
 Men should live under the law :  
 Of this end we are deprived  
 By the avarice of the Baron ;  
 For in affairs of justice only  
 He becomes economical.

The first who presents himself  
 Is appointed " offissiale ;" \*  
 He may do well, he may do ill,  
 But he must ask no salary. †  
 Procurator, or notary,  
 Or valet, or even lackey,  
 Be he grey, or be he brown, ‡  
 He is good enough to govern.

\* Judicial, or officers of justice.

† They received no stipend, but only the fees paid by litigants.

‡ Mode of expression to express total indifference as to real merit.

Bastat chi prestat sa manu  
 Pro fagher crescher sa renta ;  
 Basta chi fattat cuntenta  
 Sa buxia de su señore,  
 Chi azgindel a su Fatore

A crobure prontamente  
 E si alguu est renitente  
 Chi l'iscat executare.

A bortas de poderiu  
 Guvernat su capellanu  
 Sas biddas cun una manu,  
 Cun s'atera sa dispensa.

O feudatariu ! pensa  
 Chi sos vassalos no tenas

Solu pro crescher sos benes,  
 Solu pro los iscorzare.

Su patrimoniu, sa vida  
 Pro defender, su villanu  
 Cun sas armas in sa manu,  
 Cheret, ch'istet notte e die :  
 Già chi hat a esser gasie  
 Proite tantu tributtu ?  
 Si no sin d'hat haer fruttu  
 Est locura su pagare.

Si su Barone no fughet  
 S'obligassione sua,

Enough that he lend a hand  
 To help increase the rents ;  
 Enough that he replenish  
 The purse of the noble lord,  
 That he give all aid to the  
 " Fattore " \*

To exact with promptitude,  
 And if any prove unwilling  
 That he know how to coerce  
 them.

Sometimes illegally  
 The chaplain governs †  
 The village with one hand,  
 With the other the disburse-  
 ments.

Oh feudal chiefs ! reflect  
 That you do not hold your vas-  
 sals

Merely to increase your wealth,  
 Merely that you may fleece  
 them.

To defend your patrimony  
 And your life, the peasant  
 Must remain night and day ‡  
 With arms in his hands :  
 If this is to be,  
 Wherefore all this tribute ?  
 If there is to be no benefit  
 It is madness then to pay.

If the Baron does not  
 Fulfil his obligation,

---

\* Exactor of the baronial dues.

† The baron's chaplain sometimes acted as steward, and even interfered in affairs of the tribunals.

‡ When engaged in their dissensions, the feudal barons exacted a guard of armed vassals to attend them on their journeys.

Vassalu, de parte tua  
 A nudda ses obligadu ;  
 Sas derettas, chi hat sobradu  
 In tantos annos passados  
 Sunn dinàris furados  
 E ti los devet terrare.

Sas rentas servini solu  
 Pro mantener cicisbea,  
 Pro carrozza, e livrea,  
 Pro inutiles serviçios,  
 Pro alimentare sos vissios,  
 Pro giogare a sa Bassetta :

\* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \*

Pro poder tenner platos  
 Bindighe, e vinti in sa mesa,  
 Pro chi potat sa Marchesa  
 Sempre audare in portantina ;  
 Sa iscarpa istrinta, mischina !  
 La faghet audare a toppu !  
 Sas padras punghene troppu,  
 E non podet camminare !

Pro una litera sola  
 Su vassallu poberinu  
 Faghet dies de caminu,  
 A pé, e senz' esser pagadu,  
 Méssu iscurzu, et ispozadu,  
 Espostu a dogni inclemenzia ;  
 E puru tenet passieuzia,  
 E puru devet cagliare.

Timende chi si reformen  
 Disordines tantu mannos,

Thou, vassal ! on thy part  
 To nothing art obliged ;  
 The taxes he has extorted  
 In so many bygone years  
 Are monies robbed from thee,  
 Which he should render back.

His rentals only serve  
 To entertain mistresses,  
 For carriages, for liveries,  
 For useless servants,  
 For encouragement to vice,  
 For gambling at Faro :

\* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \*

To enable him to have  
 Some twenty dishes on his table ;  
 To enable the Marchesa  
 To go always in her chair :  
 Her narrow shoes, poor thing !  
 Compel her to go limping ;  
 The stones are much too hard,  
 She cannot go on foot.

For one single letter\*  
 The wretched vassal  
 Has days of journey  
 On foot, without being paid,  
 Half barefoot, half unclothed,  
 Exposed to all inclemencies ;  
 Still he must be patient,  
 Still he must hold his peace.

Fearing reformation  
 In disorders so extreme,

---

\* A vassal might be dispatched with a letter on any affair, and received no payment.

Cun manizos et ingannos  
 Sas Cortes hau impeditu ;  
 E isperder hana cherfidu  
 Sos patrizios pius zelantes ;  
 Nende chi sun petulantes  
 E contra sa monarchia.

By manœuvres and intrigues  
 The Cortes\* have prevented it ;  
 They have striven to put down  
 The most zealous of the patriots ;  
 Saying they are outrageous  
 And enemies to monarchy.

Ai cuddos chi in favore  
 De sa patria hau peroradu,  
 Chi s'ispada haua bagadu  
 Pro sa causa comune ;  
 Oa su tuju una fune  
 Cherian ponner, mischinos !  
 O comente Giacobinos  
 Los cherian massacrare.

To those who have spoken out  
 In favor of their country,  
 Or have unsheathed their sword  
 In the common cause ;  
 Either around their throats  
 A rope they would have twisted,  
 Or, as Jacobins,  
 They would have had them  
 massacred.

Però su Chelu hat defesu  
 Sos bonos visibilmente ;  
 Atterrada hat su potente,  
 Ei s'umile hat exaltadu :  
 Deus, chi s'est declaradu  
 Pro custa Patria nostra,  
 De ogni insidia bostra  
 Ipse nos hat a salvare.

Nevertheless heaven visibly  
 Has defended the upright ;  
 Has brought low the powerful,  
 And exalted the humble :  
 God, who has declared himself  
 For this our country,  
 Will certainly protect us  
 From all your treacheries.

O poberos de sas Biddas,  
 Trabagliade, trabagliade,  
 Pro mantanner in cittade  
 Tantos caddos de istalla ;  
 A bois lassan sa palla,  
 Ipsos regollen su ranu  
 E pensan sera, e menzanu  
 Solamente a ingrassare.

Oh ! poor ones of the Village,  
 Toil away ! toil away !  
 To maintain in the city  
 So many pampered steeds ;  
 To you is left the straw,  
 They have gathered in the grain,  
 And think of nothing day or night  
 But of their self-indulgence.

Su Señor Feudatoriu  
 A sas undighi si pesat,

My Lord the Baron  
 Rises at eleven ;

---

\* The assembly of the Stamenti of the kingdom.

Dae su lettu a sa mesa,  
Dae sa mesa a su giogu ;  
Eppustis pro disaògu  
Andat a cicisbeare ;  
Giompende a iscurigare

Teatru, ballu, allegria.

Cantu differentemente  
Su vassallu passat s'hora !  
Innantis de s'aurora  
Già est bessidu in compagna ;  
Bentu, e nie in sa montagna,

In su paris sole ardente :  
Oh ! poberittu, comentu  
Lu podat agguantare ?

Cun sa zappa e cun s'aradu  
Pelèat tota sa die ;

A nora de mesudie  
Si cibatu de solu pane :  
Mezus paschidu est su cane  
De su Barone in cittade,  
Si est de cudda qualidade  
Ch'in faldas solen portare.

Perfidu Feudatoriu !  
Pro interesse privadu  
Prolettoe declaradu  
Ses de su Piemontesu :  
Cón ipse di fisti intesu  
Cun meda fazilidade ;  
Ipse papeude in cittade,

E tu in Bidda a porfia.

Fit pro sos Piemontesos  
Sa Sardigna una cucagna,

From his bed he goes to dinner,  
From dinner to the gaming table,  
From thence to pass the time  
He goes off to making love ;  
And night beginning to ap-  
proach  
To balls, the theatre, and gaieties.

How differently does  
The vassal pass his hours !  
Before the morning dawn  
He is already in the fields ;  
Wind and snow are on the moun-  
tain,

In the plain a burning sun :  
Oh ! wretched man ! and how  
Art thou to endure all this !

He toils the whole day long  
With the spade and with the  
plough :

At the hour of middle day  
He banquets on a crust :  
The Baron's dog in the town  
Is much better fed  
If it be one of that race  
Which they carry on their knees.

Perfidious Feudal Baron !  
For private interest  
The avowed protector  
Are you of the Piedmontese !  
With him you associate  
Without any scruple ;  
You—to live with him in the  
town,  
He—with you in the village.

Sardinia to the Piedmontese  
Was as a golden land,

Su chi in sas Indias s'Ispagna  
 Ipsos incontran inoghe :  
 Nos alzixda sa boghe  
 Fingas unu Camareri,  
 O Plebeu, o Cavaglieri  
 Si deviat humiliare.

Ipsos dae custa terra  
 Ch' hana bogadu migliones ;  
 Beniam chena calzones  
 E si nde andan gallonados :  
 Mai ch' esseren intrados  
 Chi ch' hana postu su fogu !  
 Malaittu cuddu logu  
 Chi criat tale zenia !

Ipsos inoghe incontrana  
 Vantagiosos imeneos ;  
 Pro ipsos fin sos implèos,  
 Pro ipsos fin sos honores,  
 Sas dignidades maiores  
 De Cheja, Toga, e Ispada :

Ea su Sardu restada  
 Una fune a s'impaccare.

Sos disculos nos mandàua  
 Pro castigu et correzione,  
 Cun paga et cun pensione,  
 Cun impleu, et cun patente ;  
 In Moscovia tale zente  
 Si mandat in sa Siberia  
 Pro chi morgiat de miseria,—  
 Però no pro guvernare.

What Spain found in the Indies  
 They discovered here :  
 Even a Piedmontese valet  
 Might elevate his voice,  
 To which plebeian or cavalier  
 Was obliged to humble himself.

They from out this land  
 Have exported millions ;  
 They came in without hose,  
 And left it all embroidered ;  
 Would they had never entered  
 To light this firebrand !  
 May that place be cursed  
 Which gives life to such a race.

They have here contracted  
 Advantageous marriages ;  
 For them were all employments,  
 For them were all distinctions  
 The greatest dignities  
 Of the Church, the Robe, and  
 Sword :

To the Sarde was left  
 A rope to hang himself.\*

The worthless were sent us †  
 For punishment and correction,  
 With stipend and with pension,  
 With office, and diploma ;  
 In Russia such people  
 Are sent into Siberia  
 To die of misery,—  
 But not to govern.

---

\* No Sarde could hold any office of importance.

† Lucrative offices in Sardinia were often given to Piedmontese  
 as a means of banishing them their own country.

Intantu in s' isula nostra  
 Numerosa giuventude  
 De talentu et de virtude  
 Oziôsa la lassànu :  
 E si alunu nde implianu  
 Chiriana su pius tontu,  
 Pro ehi les torràda a contu  
 Cun zente zega a trattare.

Si in impleos sub-alternos  
 Algnu Sardu avanzàdu,  
 In regàlos no bastada  
 Su mesu di su salariu ;  
 Mandare fit necessariu  
 Caddos de casta a Torinu,  
 Et bonas caxias de binu  
 Cannonau et Malvasia.

Tirau a su Piemonte  
 Sa plata nostra ei s'ora,  
 Est de su governu insoro  
 Massima fondamentale :  
 Su regnu andet bene o male,

No lis importat niente ;  
 Antis creen inconbeniente

Lassarelu prosperare.

S' isula hat arruinadu  
 Custu razzu de bastardos ;  
 Sos privilegios Sardos  
 Ipsos nos hana leadu ;  
 De los arcivos furadu

Nos hana sas mesus pezzas,  
 E che iscritturas bezzas  
 Las hana fattas bruxiare.

Meanwhile in our island  
 A numerous youth  
 Of talent and of virtue  
 Were left unheeded ;  
 Or if any were employed  
 They selected the most dull,  
 For it turned to their account  
 To deal with blinded folks.

If to some subaltern employment  
 A Sardinian had attained,  
 One half of his salary  
 Could not suffice for gifts ;  
 It was needful he should send  
 Blood horses to Turin,  
 And good butts of wine  
 "Cannonau" and "Malvasia."\*

To draw into Piedmont  
 Our silver and our gold,  
 Was in their government  
 A fundamental maxim :  
 The kingdom might go well or  
 ill,

To them it mattered not ;  
 On the contrary it was inexp-  
 edient

To allow it to prosper.

The island has been ruined  
 By this race of bastards ;  
 They have taken to themselves  
 The privileges of Sardes ;  
 From the archives they have  
 robbed

The most important charters,  
 And then as worthless paper  
 They have caused them to be  
 burnt.

---

\* Wines made in Sardinia.

De custu flagellu imparte  
 Deus nos hat liberadu :  
 Su Sardu ch' hat allargadu  
 Custu dannosu inimigu ;  
 E tue li ses amigu,  
 O Sardu Barone indignu !  
 E tue seo in s' impignu  
 De nde lu fagher torrare.

From this scourge in part  
 God has delivered us ;\*  
 The Sarde has expelled  
 His injurious enemy :  
 And thou wouldst be his friend,  
 Oh ! unworthy Sardinian Baron !  
 And thou art seeking means  
 To bring them back again.

Pro custu iscaradamente  
 Preigas pro Piemonte ;  
 Falsu ! chi ginghes ia fronte

For this unblushingly  
 You praise up Piedmont ;  
 Traitor ! who bearest on thy  
 brow

Sa marca de traitore !  
 Fizas tuas tantu honore  
 Faghen a su foristeri ;  
 Mancari fiat basseri  
 Basta chi Sardu non fiat.

The brand of treason !  
 Your daughters shew  
 Great honor to the foreigner ;  
 And descend to all dishonor  
 If it be not with a Sarde.

S' occasu andas a Torinu,  
 Inie basare des  
 A su ministru sos pes,  
 E a ater su—già m' intendes ;

If by chance you go to Turin,  
 There you must kiss  
 The foot of the minister,  
 And more too — you under-  
 stand ;

Pro tenner su chi pretendes  
 Bendes sa patria tua,  
 E procuras forsi a eria  
 Sos Sardos iscreditare.

To obtain what you aspire to  
 You sell your native land,  
 And strive perhaps in secret  
 To vilify Sardinians.

Sa buxia lassas inie  
 E in premiu nde torras  
 Un rughita in petorras,  
 Una giae in su traseri.  
 Pro fagher su quarteri  
 Sa domo has arruinadu,

Your purse you leave there,  
 And in return receive  
 A cross upon your breast,  
 A key upon your back.  
 Your family is ruined  
 That you may serve your time  
 at court,

---

\* In allusion to the expulsion of the Piedmontese spoken of by Baron Manno, in the last part of his *Storia di Sardegna*.



E titulu has acquistadu  
De traitore e ispia.

And you have gained the title  
Of traitor and of spy.

Su Chelu non lassat sempre  
Sa malissia triunfendo ;  
Su mundu istat reformendo  
Sas cosas chi andana male ;  
Su sistema Feudale  
Non podet durare meda ;  
Custu bender pro moneda  
Sos populos deet cessare.

Heaven will not always  
Let mischief be triumphant ;  
The world is now reforming  
Things that are going ill ;  
The system of Feudality  
Cannot last much more ;  
The sale of man for money  
Must very soon cease.

S'homine chi s'impostura  
Stajat già degradadu  
Parret chi a s'antigu istadu  
Alzare cherzat de nou ;  
Paret chi su ranghu sou  
Pretendat s'humanidade.  
Sardos mios ischidade !

Man who has been deceived  
And so long degraded  
Now seems to raise himself  
To his former position ;  
It seems that humanity  
Again asserts her rights.  
My Sardinians ! rouse your-  
selves !

Esighide custa ghia.

And follow this your guide.

Custa, Populos, est s'hora  
De istirpare sos abusos ;  
A terra sos malos usos !  
A terra su dispotismu !  
Ghera ! Ghera a s'egoismu !  
E ghera a sos oppressores !  
Custos tirannos minores  
Est prezisu umiliare.

This, Oh People ! is the hour  
To eradicate abuses ;  
Down with all evil customs !  
Down with despotic power !  
War ! war to selfishness !  
And war to the oppressor !  
It is time to humble now  
All these petty tyrants.

Sinò calchi die a mossu  
Bonde segades su didu ;  
Como chi est su filu ordidu  
A bois toccat a tesser ;  
Mizi chi podet esser  
Tardu s'arrepentimentu ;  
Cando si tenet su bentu

If not some day in morsels  
You will bite your fingers off ;  
Now that the thread is spun  
Is the time to weave the cloth ;  
Beware that your repentance  
Do not come too late ;  
When the wind is in your fa-  
vor

Est prezisu bentulare.

Is the proper time to winnow.

We may now proceed to the abolition of feudalism by Carlo Alberto.

A royal proclamation, dated 19th December, 1835, and a *pregone*, published 5th January, 1836, appointed a delegation to obtain from all the feudal barons, or their "*podatori*" and "*reggidori*" (their bailiffs and judges) in their absence, a true and exact return of the date and form of the various infeudations, with their position, extent, dues, value, emoluments, powers, rights, privileges, and receipts, during the past fifteen or ten years as the least period, and commanding the feuds and communes in feudality to make similar returns of all their possessions and payments.

The real object of this enquiry was neither specified nor alluded to, the decree merely stating it to be "for the purpose of placing us in a position to take into consideration those provisions which, by reason of the times and circumstances, might suggest themselves to us, as more consentaneous with justice, and better adapted to the welfare of our beloved subjects."

This was followed by another proclamation, dated 1st June, 1836, which, without any previous communication, commenced thus:—

"Guided by anxious care to promote among the feuds of our kingdom of Sardinia those improved regulations which the welfare of the agricultural industry and prosperity in general of our beloved subjects require; by our *Carta Reale*, dated the nineteenth of December of the past year, we have ordered a return of the feuds, jurisdiction, and feudal rights, reserving to ourselves, who are acquainted with the true spirit of affairs, to decree those measures which may appear to us more just and adapted to the following out of our proposed intention."

Then follow four articles, the first of which is as follows :

“ From the day of publication of the present edict is altogether suppressed in our kingdom of Sardinia the exercise of feudal jurisdiction, civil and criminal, and of every other right dependent on it, by whatever title it may be possessed ; the feudal jurisdiction being thus revoked and united to our royal jurisdiction.”

The second article merely refers to the officers of the barons retaining their situation, but exercising it in the royal name, and with a continuation of their previous payment.

The third article states, that if the feudal baron in this abolished exercise of his annulled jurisdiction should have a claim of indemnity, he must send it to the delegates, who would examine his demands, and after a balance of his receipts with the expenses of his feudal jurisdiction, the king “ would at his own time put forth his own judgment on the provisions he might consider appropriate.” The last article is the king’s intention to do whatever he may consider necessary for a new limitation of their jurisdiction, for the administration of justice, and proper arrangement of their prisons.

In 1837 two decrees were issued. By the first, dated June 3rd, a commission was appointed to determine, according to rules then laid down, the nature and mode of payments and service of the vassals to the barons, with power to decide on any differences and on all matters connected with the enquiry. The second, dated the 2nd of September, abolished all compulsory service comprehended under the term “ *commandamenti dominicali*,” including that of transport of grain.

A decree dated the 12th of May, 1838, enacts that the lands belonging to the Marquis de Arcais, as well

as those of the royal domain which had not legitimately passed to individuals or communes, should be divided and distributed according to certain modes and regulations; and that this arrangement should be extended to all other fiefs as they from time to time should fall into the royal domain by escheat or repurchase. This was followed by another, dated the 30th of June, permitting the parties, whether lord or vassal, to appeal from the sentence of the Commissioners to the Supreme Council of Sardinia, at Turin, which would have authority to conciliate differences, and decide definitively on the dues and apportionments.

The last decree, dated the 21st of August, 1838, enacts that such indemnifications as cannot be assigned to the feudal proprietors in real property or specie, shall be paid by a rent charge on the public debt, raising for that purpose a new loan of 250,000 lire Sarde, or 19,200*l.* sterling, and an annual sum of 50,000 lire Sarde, or 3,840*l.* sterling, for its gradual liquidation.\*

Such were the edicts of Carlo Alberto, by which a form of government and tenure of property which had existed for upwards of 600 years, were swept away by a simple stroke of his autocratical pen. Few will venture to deny the incalculable advantage of the abolition of a system which, however good and valuable in past ages, had been so abused in later years, that it was productive of nothing but misery and injustice.

For the removal of the abuses the nation is most deeply indebted to their monarch; "*il regale benefico*

\* *La Marmora*, vol. i. p. 301. A new commission has been lately appointed (1844) to inquire into the partition of communal lands; and the settlement of this difficult point was expected to be finished by 1848. *Petitti, Antolog. Ital.* No. 1, p. 90.; *Torino*, 1846.

atto era la prima sorgente d'ogni miglioramento in quell'isola," as Count Petitti observes; but the mode of carrying out that measure, and the system substituted in its stead have entailed almost as many evils, though of a different character, as previously existed. The measure was determined on and published without the slightest consultation with, or deference to, the wishes of the barons themselves; and without the most distant allusion to the opinion, voice, or assent of the Stamenti; all parties thereby considering themselves aggrieved and speaking of the fact as a national and individual insult. The expiring groan of feudal pride from the bosom of the barons was, however, checked by a most potent emulcient; and they have quietly submitted; firstly, because any resistance to the government backed by the people would be useless; and secondly, as the fixed dues and rentals now received from the King are so much greater than those previously collected by their bailiffs and agents. In many cases the amount has been more than doubled; but in all, so increased as satisfactorily to appease the magnanimous and patriotic complainants. The King in assuming the place of feudal chief and buying the manorial rents at a value equal to twenty years' purchase,\* has made a good bargain, as a matter of finance; and as one of legislation, he is vested with a despotic power by which he may, according to his will and pleasure, eventually enthrall the very party whom he has silenced by the temporary benefit of an increase of revenue. Far different were the effects of the measure on the vassals, who, deceived with a fallacious belief that the change would be beneficial to them, received with joy the sudden intelligence of the abolition of feudalism.

\* M'Gregor, Comm. Tariff, part vii.

The reduction, if not suppression of feudal, communal, dominical, and other dues was the banner unfurled to their eyes, and around which they were induced to rally ; neither the King nor the baron deeming it advisable to expose the delusion in which the political schemes of the former, and the pecuniary interests of the latter were so much involved. The reality of the measure was soon tested, and the vassals awaking from their credulity, found the change to be merely a substitution of one inconvenience and evil for another ; the burden of increased taxation sat with less ease than the old one on their galled shoulders ; payment was attempted to be enforced by the violent hand of government instead of the private measures of the baron, and as a climax of the evil, was exacted in specie instead of kind. These causes produced, and have continued to do so, constant outbreaks and resistance, especially in the mountainous districts, where the latter mode of payment has been the immemorial and general custom, and where the substituted circulation of money is so limited as to render it almost an impossibility.

During the recent excursion of the king and his son, the Duke of Genoa, in the island, several villages presented petitions praying for an alleviation from the exorbitantly increased taxes demanded by the government, and consequent misery to which they were reduced. The royal ears, instead of being gratified with the melodious "*Viva il Re,*" were stunned with the cries of "*Pàne ai miseri, giustizia ai poveri ;*" and at one of the villages, Sedilo, which had been the first to rise against the feudal Barons, the people threatened to leave their homes if some relief were not given, the result of which would probably have been a fuoruscito life in the mountains. A great portion of the taxes in

the Gallura district were also two years in arrear ; and it was considered improbable that they ever could or would be paid.

The improvement of the moral condition of the lower classes by the abolition of feudal services can only be tested by time ; for the new order of things not having yet come fully into operation, the system should not be condemned before it has had a fair trial ; but as far as it is established, the results have neither equalled the expectations of its propounders, nor the wants of the people.

In regard to the administration of justice, it should be observed, that it was taken out of the hands of the Barons before the whole system was changed ;—that it was the first attack on feudalism, and accomplished before its entire abolition, thereby leaving the nobles, as well as vassals, in a very anomalous position. The complaint urged against the King, that his assumption of the jurisdiction should have been either previous to, and independent of, or cotemporaneous with, the total change of system, may or may not be rightly founded ; but it is nevertheless acknowledged, that this transition state of the administration of justice was a happy period for the people themselves, inasmuch as they were freed from the abuses of the Barons, and had not experienced the greater miseries which have subsequently arisen from the government system.

Their regret at the change, and sufferings under their present state are loudly vented in many parts of the island, and in one instance, which occurred to one of my friends, the quondam serfs rose *en masse*, and entreated him to take them again under his vassalage.

It would be needless to enter into the numberless other evils and abuses ; but if we look at the measures

adopted for the abolition of feudalism in Sicily and Hungary,—the two countries in which, with Sardinia, the change has been most recently effected,—we may form a comparison between the modes of carrying out such benefits.

Feudalism was introduced into Sicily by the Normans in 1072, and on it gradually arose a form of government similar to that of Sardinia under the Aragonese dominion, whereby the same overwhelming preponderance of wealth and power was vested in the nobility and clergy, with a subjection of their vassals to the same extortions and servitude.\* This condition continued till 1783, when the oppressed peasantry, having risen against their baronial taskmasters to resist their demands and require wages for their labor and service, their complaints were attended to; and their grievances were greatly redressed by a transfer of the judicial administration of the baronial courts to the royal authorities, and a release of the vassal from all feudal service in cases where no charter existed. The greater part of the cultivated lands continued to be the inalienable property of the barons, the church, and corporate bodies, till 1812, when the national parliament assembled to reform abuses, and provide for the wants of the country during the war. It was then that the barons unanimously and voluntarily renounced their feudal rights and privileges for the public benefit, and abolished the system by their own magnanimity and patriotism, uncompelled by any despotic power or influence.

Botta thus speaks of it :† “ At the instigation of the barons, who were excited at once by generosity and by

\* M'Culloch, Dict. art. Sicily.

† Storia d'Italia, vol. ii. p. 340.



the desire of popularity, the parliament established certain fundamental principles which relieved the people from an oppressive burden, and deservedly raised the name of the nobles to the highest honor; for, besides the general joy occasioned by the principal articles that were decreed, there was an astonishment not unmixed with gratitude at certain additional clauses stipulated by the barons themselves, who spontaneously proposed and carried in parliament the abolition of the feudal system in Sicily, annulled all privileges arising from it, and made all lands free and allodial. All investitures, subsidiary aids, manorial dues, and every burden derived from the feudal claims were abolished; as for tolls and fees of various kinds, individuals or communes were authorised to compound for them. To appreciate duly the magnanimity and patriotism of these voluntary sacrifices, it must be considered that a great part of the wealth of the Sicilian barons was derived from these feudal rights; and there were families who in renouncing them lost 70,000 francs yearly income."

The free constitution, established by Lord William Bentinck in 1812, confirmed the act, but a mixed government being found unsuited to the country, or at least to the dynasty on the Sicilian throne, it was changed in 1816 for its present arbitrary form. In 1838, further laws were enacted for the total abolition of feudalism.

If we look to Hungary, we find the diet, in 1836, passing their law called "Urbarium," by which the civil rights of the peasants were extended, and their vassalage reduced. The nobles then gave up spontaneously the principle of two of their most obnoxious privileges, freedom from taxation, and jurisdiction in their own manorial courts.\* This exemption was, how-

\* *Vide* Paget's Hungary and Transylvania.

ever, not waived by a voluntary acceptance of burdens which would have occasioned a vast revolution in property, and endangered one of the most valuable advantages of the Hungarian constitution ; but by an enactment, that if a noble should purchase a peasant's property liable to taxation, the noble should continue to pay the impost. In the administration of justice, any disputes between the peasants and themselves should be referred to a court composed of indifferent proprietors of magisterial rank ; heavy penalties for slight offences were modified, and appeals to the higher courts of the kingdom were allowed. The peasants were enabled to leave, sell, or transfer their holdings at will, the lord having no power over them except in execution for rent, which was then also fixed by the custom of each district. The rights of drawing wood from the seignorial forests, of fattening pigs on acorns, with other privileges, were continued. A small payment, and a part of the produce, were given to the lord, redeemable or convertible into a rent charge, and the small tithe, and tithe of reclaimed land were abandoned by the landlords. These reforms were followed up by other decrees of the diet in 1839, by which the peasant obtained the right of disposal by will of all kinds of property. Such were the concessions and modifications emanating spontaneously from the nobles, enacted to a great extent in opposition to the wishes of the Austrian government, which looked with much fear on an extension of liberty to the lower orders ;—such was the voluntary abandonment of privileges conceded with no less spirit and honor than they were obtained by their ancestors, under the Aurea Bulla of their King Andreas in 1222.

It now only remains to sum up the contrast between

the modes in which the changes have been effected in the three countries. In Hungary and Sicily, the nobles, with generous patriotism, voluntarily conceded not only privileges but pecuniary advantages, and the people have reaped the benefit. In Sardinia, the empty pride and ignorance of the greater part of the feudal barons always prevented such a spontaneous concession ; and though one of the enlightened members of that rank, holding a most important post in the government at Turin, had framed and strongly urged a reform, yet it is probable it would never have taken place without a general revolution, had not the King undertaken and completed it. Absolutism being the foundation stone on which all his legislative enactments are raised, it could not be expected that he would deviate from his principles on that occasion. When deciding on the abrupt and compulsory measures, he is said to have expressed himself in words similar to those used by Gustavus I., of Sweden, to his sons : “*Réfléchissez d’abord avec maturité, puis exécutez avec vigueur et sans hésitation ; une résolution qui n’est pas exécutée à tems est comme les nuages qui sans donner de pluie traversent le ciel dans le tems de sécheresse.*” It was a long time, however, before his reflection arrived at maturity ; for the conflicting advice of his ministers was yet further embarrassed by the opinions of his Jesuit counsellors and confessors.

Their varied arguments on the balance of the antagonistic powers of monarch, aristocracy, and people, on the policy of raising one at the expense of the other, or of crushing both, with its immediate and future consequences, were all exhibited to him in the examples of similar contests and changes in the history of other nations ; and the warnings held up to him are said to

have been rendered doubly impressive by the recollection of his policy in 1821.

*Exitus acta probat*: some years must elapse before this abolition of feudalism can be fairly tested; but hitherto the anticipated benefit has been marred by the arbitrary mode in which it was effected, and diminished by the counterbalancing evils it has produced. In commemoration of so important an event in the annals of the island, Carlo Alberto had a medal struck in 1845, on the obverse of which is a figure of Sardinia crowned with the Savoy diadem and holding a cornucopia with the various productions of the country scattered around her. The inscription is

SARDEGNA RESORGENTE.

On the reverse the figure of History rests on a shield bearing the arms of the kingdom, with the words

REGNANTE CARLO ALBERTO M.DCCC.XLV.

Around it is

ABOLITI I FEUDI — PROVVEDUTO AL BUON GOVERNO COGLI ORDINI GIUDIZIALI E MUNICIPALI — ALLA QUIETE COLLE CARCERI AL COMMERCIO COLLE STRADE E COI PORTI.

The King had only one struck in gold, valued at 1400 lire nove (about 56*l.*); on this he had the following words superadded, and then presented it on New Year's Day, 1846, to his patriotic and enlightened minister.

AL CAV. EM. VILLAMARINA PROMOTORE DEI MIGLIORAMENTI DELL' ISOLA.

It was a just and worthy compliment, for to that noble Sarde may not only be attributed the abolition of feudalism, but most of the beneficial measures which have been adopted by his royal master.

## APPENDIX.

## No. III.

Narrative of the Visit of Charles V. to Alghero.

Relació de la venguda de Sua Sagra Real Magestad Lo Emperador de Austria Carlus Quinto de gloriosa recordança en la Ciudad de Alguer de Cerdeña, lo die 6 Octubre del aïñ 1541.

In nomine illius, per quem omnia gubernantur, et ejus almæ Virginis Mariæ. Montis-ferrati ;—Amen.

Tenintse notiçia, que lo Invictissim y Cattolick Don Carlos per la Divina clemencia Emperador de Romans sempre August, y Rey nostre Señor havia de passar de Italia en Barberia de mitg jorn per la empresa de Alguer apres de ésser arribat de Flandres, y entés en les coses dels Lluterants, y essense vist ab sa Sanctidat en Lucia, ab gran exercit parti de la Spezia, ribera de Genova ;—Nostre Señor Deu fût servit, que a tres de Octubre mit sinch sento quaranta hu, ab quaranta y tres Galeras, que la altra armada per tempo se era despartida, arriba en lo port de Bonifassi del Regne de Corsiga, qual havia partit, com es dit, de la Spezia, ribera de Genova, del qual lloch de Bonifassi, scrigue da Majestat als Magnífichs Consellers lo present aÿn de la Ciutat de Alguer una lletra fermada da sa mà, de la sua junta en lo dit lloch de Bonifassi, y com entanea venir en dita present Ciutat del Alguer, la qual lletra a dits Magnífichs Consellers fench traxmesa per lo Noble Don

Diego Dessena Govenador y Reformador del Cap de Lugudor de Sasser en fora mingent sont lo Alquaquil Joan de Corra di mercres a sinch de Octubre a les quatre hores apres mitg jorn, qual es del thenor siguent.

“ Alos amados, y fieles Nuestros los Jurados de Nuestra Ciudad de Alguer. El Rey.

“ Amados y fieles Nuestros, Nos hemos llegado en esta hora al puerto de Bonifaccio, y pensamos con ayuda de Nuestra Señor ser presto en esta Ciudad del Alguer ; y porque despues que partimos de la Spezia no sabemos el viaje que havran hecho los Navios de Nuestra Armada, que partieron delante, y deseamos ser dello avisados, encargamos vos, y mandamos, que luego que esta recibierades nos ayeseis de los Navios que havran aportado en esse puerto,—y asi de la dicha nuestra Armada, como otros qualesquiera, y que via llevavan, y para donde iran, y de lo que supierades de ellos ; y assi mismo dareis orden, que en essa Ciudad no falten las vetuallas que fueren menester para refresco, y prove himiento de nuestra Casa, y Corte, haziendo en ello la diligencia que de vosotros confiamos. Dat en el puerto de Bonifaccio a tres de Octubre, año MDXXXI.

Yo el Rey.”

PRAGUES SECRET<sup>o</sup>.”

E subitament rebuda dita lletra por dits Magnífichs Consellers ab aquell honor y reverència que es partengut, entengueren donar orde en lo que convenia y en la matexia nit del di me cres arribá en Ciutat dit Noble Governador, qual, y lo magnífichs Veguer Mossen Miguel Olives menóre, y dits Consellers entengueren en fer fer hun pont de llenyun en la mar molt llarch, y ample y en fer pastár molt pa blanch per presentar a

sa Magestad, y fer, que per la terra, a las portas de las casas, y tendes y tragues abundancia de pa, se traguessen axibè per les portes gallines, capons, pollastres, oques, anades, colomins, ons, rahims, formagges, fruites, y altres refreschs, a tal que la gent pugues comprar sens anar çercant, prohibint ab crides negu no venès a mes pren del solit.

Manoren per moltes tavernes de vins blanchs y negres; provehieron que les Vagues y moltons del terme entrassen drins Ciutat y que les Carniceries stiguessen abundants, provehieren que les pescadors dels Calighes y altres llochs accudissen ab preix y que tot stigues per plaçes a tal que Sa Magestat, y Sa Cort rebessen algun refresch en esta sua pobre Ciutat, y conoques la inata fidelitat de sos Vassalls, que en ella stan y habitant.

Y axi matex dit Noble Veguer Governador, y Magnífichs Consellers concertaron per Sa Magistat una cassa de porch al port del Conte, con de fet en la matexa nit anaren los Magnífichs Mossen Guyan de Cetrilla, Mossen Francesch Busquats, Mossen Salvador Zetrilla, y Mossen Perot Amat, Cavellers desta Ciutat, y lo Magnífich Mossen Angel Torralba Conseller secons, y altres Ciudadans, y Prohomes de Ciutat, y servidors dell ab molt aparell de Cavalls, cans y jagaradors y altres.

Y en dit Port del Conte esperaren a Sa Magestat per cassar dos nits fins que de fet ambaren les galeres al Port del Conte lo dijorns çirca mitgia nit a 6 de det mes de Octubre; y lo endemà, divendes ans del dia lo dit Noble Governador accompañat de quatre Cavaliers quals eran Don Joan Manca, Don Angel Manca germà, Don Jayme Manca, y Don Joan Cariga Sas-seresos, que se trobaren aposta en Ciutat per la vinguda de Sa Magestat ab una barca armada anà al Port del

Conte, y arribà a hora, que Sa Magestat no era llevada, y apres de essar llevat, basà las mans de Aquella, fant per part sua, comde de la Ciutat, y diguè l' alegria que tenian tots de la junta de Sa Magestat, y com pesava als Consellers lo poch temps havian hagut per provehir del necessari ab unes abundància, de la que tenian, y la que mes convin convingué.

Y Sa Magestat lo rebè ab molta voluntat, y digue que estava certificat de la voluntat de tots. Y veyent gent de Cavall y a peu en terra, y dienti eran cassadors de la Ciutat, que estaban apparellats paraque si Sa Magestat volgues cassar, lo pugues far, lo estima molt, y los dits cavallers, consellers, y la Noble Don Joan Raimon Cetrilla, que y era arribat, y altres Cassadors ja dits, muntaren en galera, y bassaren la mà a Sa Magestat, quals rebé ab molta voluntat, y de fet dova llà ab un esquifet en terra sens guardia, nec alios, sots ab tres a quatre grans de sa Cort, quals eran el Duch de Camerino net del Papa Paulo Terzer, son gendre lo Princip de Salmona, Don Luis Davila Commendador Major de Alcantara, lo Princip de Macedonia, y lo Embaxador de Inglaterra; y metes en mitg de dits Cavallers Cassadors, hoy da primer missa, qual se digné al lloch, ques diu La Tragunaja, la qual digué—hun Capellà de Sa Magestat, apres munta a cavall, y les altres grans de la Cort tambe. Y cassaren, y Sa Magestat matà hun porch, que li vingué a la posta ab hun gos del dit Mossen Guaran de Cetrilla, e apres volgué Sa Magestat que los dits Consellers y Cavallers montassen abb Ell en la sua galera propria.

Y ab aquells arribà en lo Port de la dita present Ciutat divendres a 7 de dit mes de Octubre, quasi ahora de vespres, y mentres Sa Magestat cassava dit Noble Governador sen torna en Ciutat, y referi als



dits Veguer, y Consellers y Ciudadans lo sobredit, y les Galeres per l'as semblant sen vengueran al Port molta part de ellas, ara huna, ara l'altra, talment que sa Magestat vengue ab molt poques no curant dites Galeres de servir guardia a Sa Magestat.

E ya des-de el de maty del di mecrés quatre fregatas habian pres port, no curant star per les puntes, com solen. La Pont, que la Ciutat feu fer por devallar Sa Magestat era de bigues, taules, y cabriones molt llarg, y passava de sobre de les seques dring mar, al cap del qual a la volta del mar stavan pintades les armes de sa Magestat molt sumptuosamente, quals pintá mestra Johanet Spert, Ciudadá.

Stava cubert dit pont de drapes fins de Barcelona vermelles, grochs y altres Colors de molt valor, y stant sperant a Sa Magestat dit Noble Governador, y Magnífich Veguer y Consellers acompanyats de molts Cavaliers, Ciudadans y Prohoms de Ciutat, y foras entre les quals era Don Bernard Dessena, germà de dit Noble Governador; el Alcayt Saputa de Caller, Don Francesco Rebolleda Conseller en Cap de Sasser, Don Johan Manca y altres, que per brevetat se dexian de diure nomen a dament, vestits tots honradamente, y lo Magnífich Conseller en Cap portava las claus de la ciutat, entre mans ab sos cordons, y flochs de seda fina vermella, y groga, e stant áxi sperant ja les galeres havien pres port, y la gent de aquella de la ciutat passeyant, y assentada per cases, que ninguna guardia sperava a Sa Magestat.

Y la Ciutat des què arribaren las primeres galeras fins que Sa Magestat fouch en Palacio no cessá detirar sempre artilleria, carrach de la qual tenia Mossen Iayme Vallengas; y Sa Magestat feu portar totes las banderes y stendarts en la sua galera, y maná saludar la ciutat de la

sua propria galera ab quatro tirs de bombarda, quals tirats decembarca al son asquifet ab sola lo Principis Doria y los que vogaven. Y ans de venir al pont ni desbarcar en terra anà ab dit schifèt, y dit Principis Doria a rodàr y mirar la Ciutat de la banda de la mar, co es des de Sant Elia fins a la torre del sperò o adabayx; y dubtant dit Nobles Governador y Magnifich Veguer y Consellers que Sa Magestat no entras per lo Portàl Real, sen anaren del Pont, y foren tant prest fora que ya lo dit pont fouch sequejàt y donats abutti tots los draps de aquell per los soldats de sa Magestat y altres, de que Sa Magestat pres plaçer segons mostra. E apres de haver bè mirat Sa Magestat, tornà ab dit Squifet, y decembarcà al dit pont, y manà a la guardia, “Que se fuesse, que no era menester que estava en sa casa.” Y axi la guardia no servà orde ningú, com se sol en altres parts en palacio, drins y de fora, si no que sen anaren a passejar ahont volien; en lo qual pont los dits Governador, Veguer y Consellers, Ciudadans, Cavallers y Prohoms engenollats li besaren la mà; y Sa Magestat ab molt amor los rebe y donant li las claus dits Magnifichs Consellers ut decets, Sa Magestat las acceptà, y apres las tornà ad aquells, dient en llengua Castellana, “Jurados! en buen hora tenedlas, que de eso somos contentos, y assi vos mandamos y rogamos que tengais aquellas, y mireis por el bien de sa tierra, como soys obligados y vuestra fidelidad requiere.”

Per lo que altra volta dits magnifichs Consellers li besaren la mà. E après camina fins al Cap del pont, ahont en terra staven los Reverendissimos Bisbé de Ampurias Don Gregorio Artea ques trobà presenten Ciutat, vestit de Pontifical, y Don Pedro Vaguer Bisbé de Alguer, y del Consell de Sa Magestat, que ja ans era entrat en Ciutat, y l’havien rebuti segons se acostuma-

rebbe los Prelats, qual no Stava vestit de Pontifical, y acompanyat del Vicari Mossen Francesco Guiò, y Duran Arciprete del Alguer, Canongies, Capellans, y ab les Creus, segons el solit; tenint la Verá Creu en la ma dit Reverendissimo Bisbé de Ampurias, stant ya aparellades des tapetes eran de Mossen Francesco Busquets, y dos coxins de seda verda, que dexia Doña Isabel Amat, y Dessena, y la Palli de brocat forrat de tafetá girasol de la Seu.

Sa Magestat se engenollà sobre dits coxins, y besà en mans del dit reverendissimo Bisbé de Ampurias la Vera Creu; y apres cavalia sobre un cavall castañ molt ben guernit, que stava apparellat, que era del Noble Don Johan Manca, y estant sot del Palli digué al Bisbé de Alguer, “Obispo, passat accà,” y anava aquell ab los que portavan lo Palli.

Y ab solemnitat y processio entrà sa Magestat en la sua Ciutat de Alguer, dit dia de divendres a 7 del predit mes de Octubre, 1541, a hora quasi de vespres, y portant lo Palli los Magnífichs Mossen Perot Cartilla Donzell, Conseller en Cap, Mossen Angel Torralba Conseller segons, y Mossen Johan Galeasso, Conseller quart, los Nobles Don Pedro de Ferrera, Don Johan Manca, y lo Magnífichs Mossen de Cetrilla;—y entrant en Ciutat anà a fer oració en la deu Cattedral de dita Ciutat, y apres de haver fet oració torna a cavalcar, y arribat a la posada del Noble Don Pedro di Ferrera en la Plaça, que estava apparellada, monà Sa Magestat que no portas mes lo Palli, perquè ans de cavalcar volia, que anasen a veure lo restant de la Ciutat, que restava a veure de la parte de la terra, piux havia vist la part de la mar, com defet anà Sa Magestat; y siguiren los Nobles Governador, Magnífichs Veguer, y Consellers, los Cavallers que portavan lo Palli Don Bernard

Dessena, Mossen Francesco de Busquets, y altres Cavallers y Ciutadans de Ciutat, y exint per Portal Real fora de Ciutat degué Sa Magestat als Consellers, “Jurados!—esta es la Iglesia, que deribastes quando vinieron los Franceses.” Y dichos Consellers digueron que si; y arribat a la torre del Sperò, y parenli bé la fabbrica della, munta aneara finga hun pedraste, y terra cavallera que hy ha un pou de la roche, de hont se veu quasi la ciutat.

Y sent alli' mirá be Sa Magestat la Ciutat, y la torre del Sperò, y digué, “Bonita por mi fé, y bien assentada.” Y giranse al Governador y Consellers digué. “Este es de poca importancia,—alzat el lienzo de la muralla y la torre hasta la altura de aquellos dos hombres, y finid la obra;” diento co per dos hombres que estavan drets sobre la muralla vella de dita torre del Sperò.

Y tornants en Sa Magestat en Ciutat essent en mitz del trast de la torre del Sperò, y de la torre del Portal Real, que respon devant San Michel, digné Sa Magestat, —“Jurados! aqui sera bien se haga una casa mata que del resto todo esta bien.”

Y continuà son cominar, y essent entre lo Portal neu, y vell, Sa Magestat arrestà con cavall per mirar les suos armes, que estan allè pintades; y los Consellers li digueren que en semblants fabriques se dispenevan los dines, que Sa Magestat feja merced a la Ciutat, qual respongué, “Bien lo veho, y plase me dello.”

Y entrà en Ciutat, y restiat en la posada del dit Don Pedro, descavallá, y sen munta en la sala ahont lo Princip: Doria, y altres Grans lo sparavan, y Sa Magestat parlá un poch de peus ab dit Princip: Doria, de la armada de mar, que per lletra, que terná dit Noble Governador, se sabià ahont havia aportat; es sen entrà en la cambra, y tot home sen anà en ses cases.

Y apres de essen en la cambra Sa Magestat se posà a la finestra ab lo Princip de Macedonia, lo Princip de Salmona, lo Duc de Camerino, Net del Papa, y gendre de Sa Magestat, y Don Luis Davilla Comendador Mayor de Alcantara, stant rient ab aquello, mirant la Plaça, y vehient les vaques y loves que embarcaven los soldats, com corrien per la Plaça, y les matavan a cotel·ladas.

Y essent ya quasi nit los dits Magnífichs Consellers acompanyats, ut supra, anaren a Palácio, y verbo sup·plicaren a Sa Magestat por servit de recordasse di aquesta sua Ciutat, piux nostra Señor Deu nos habia fet mercet que Sa Magestat era vinguda en ella, per estar en hun scoll de roches, llun de poblat, y en continua puna de enemicht, que solt tenien lo nòm de esser Vassalls fielissims de Sa Magestat.

Y que aquella responguè dient, “Jurados, la gana que teniamos de veher l’Alguer nos ha hecho venir en Cerdeña, que otramete no venyamos; y pues hemos vista la Ciudad, y la importancia della, al presente no po demos proveher nada por estar de camino; embiad·nos lo acordar en España, que allà lo provehiremos como mejor fuere nuestro servicio y la importancia de la Ciudad requiere, y vuestra fidelidad merece; y quissa antes de mucho nos vereys accà otra ves, si Dios fuere servido.”

Del que dits Consellers besaren la má a Sa Magestat fent gracies ad quella bona voluntat, y amor les mostrava; y sen anaren.

Y encara que stigues fet lo preparatori em Palácio de Supar, Sa Magestat no Supà, salvo que la nit men·già certas rosques de bescuit blanch, y begué ayqua canyellada, y aço fin per trobarse indisposta del pit; y ans de posarse Sa Magestat al llit digué al Conseller

quart que en tot era stat y era present, “Jurado,” “Vayanse todos, no hemos menester de nada, que ya stamos en casa nuestra.”

Al que respos hun Alabarder de Sa Magestat, anomenat Rodrigo, y digué, “Senor, los Jurados no han provehydo de colchones por nosotros; bueno será que descolgemos estos panyos, y nos echemos en ellos.”

Y Sa Magestat sen rigué y digué al dit Conseller quart, “Jurado, mira que no hagan daño estos locos;” y dit Conseller respongué, “No haran, Señor.”

Y tot home sen aná, y Sa Magestat se posa al llit, que la Ciutat havia apparellat, y dit Alabarder no digué per falta de llits, que tot home stava ben appor-sentat, sino per les strenes, que la Ciutat les donà, axi als Alabarders, com als Alacayos,—Guardarobba Foriers, Porters, Dispensers, y Coch, que dit Conseller quart per part de la Ciutat los strenà, a tot encirca de settanta ducats, segons la qualitat del offici requeria.

Y cobra lo Palli, y draps, de que restaren molt contents de la Ciutat; y lo endemà llevada ya Sa Magestat se feu preparaton de missa en la Sala del Palacio, a hon Sa Magestat y molts Principis, Duchs, Marquesos, Contes, Prelates, y Grans Señors de sa Cort, dit Noble Governador y Magnífichs Veguer, Consellers, Cavaliers, Ciudadans, y altres del Alguer oyren Missa, qual digué hun Capellá de Sa Magestat.

El essent hora di diner tot homo sen aná en lleurs posades y Sa Magestat sen torná a la cambra ahont diná ab tot aquell aparell y provisió que Sa Magestat requeria a sa cambra secreta per trobarse indispost del pit, com es dit.

Y acab de hun poch Sa Magestat mana fer crida que tot hom se embarcas, y essent ya quasi dos horas Sa Magestat manà partir, y exint de la cambra a la sala

per anarse a embarcas en dita sala en presençia dels sobre dits Principis, Duchs, Contes, Prelats, y Grans Señors de la Sua Cort, y del dit Noble Governador Don Diego Dessena, y de molts altres Cavallers y Ciutadans de la present Ciutat; Sa Magestat armá Cavallers als Magnífichs Mossen Johan Galeasso Conseller quart ya dit, y a Mossen Duran Guio de Alger, a Mossen Pedro Pilo, a Mossen Caño, y Mossen Virde de la Ciutat de Sasser, y a Mossen Iolian Del graxo de Cartell Aragonés, y prengué carta de la Milicia, y Cancellaria lo Secretari de Sa Magestat Mossen Johan Prialonga; y devallantsen per la scala de dit Palácio dit Conseller quart fet cavellér, com es dit, demana a Sa Magestat llicencia de anar a servir Sa Magestat en esta empresa de Alger. Y Sa Magestat respongué, “Jurado, hareis vuestro officio por agora, y assi lo mandamos.”

Y vulent exin Sa Magestat de la porta del Palácio, lo noble Don Pedro de Ferrera de arrestà, y supplica Sa Magestat, qui tingues per bè y for servit de acceptar en sa Cort a son germà Don Miguel de Ferrera, qual era allí present; pues ell per sa indisposicio no podía anar a servir a Sa Magestat en esta empresa. Y sa Magestat lo acceptà.

Y giranse Sa Magestat al dit Conseller quart, que reppresentent la Ciutat li anava al costát squér con los altres sos companañons no trobaran presents, per star ocupats ab les hostes y Grans Senors tenian in casa, desde la porta de Palácio finga la porta del Mar, li anava parlant demananli Sa Magestat del assento, y trato de la Ciutat, y dit Conseller li doná conplide rahò de tot.

Y essent juntát al dit Portal de la Mar, Sa Magestat manà desembargassen lo Pont de la gent, que y erá, e munta en equell, y ya stava apparellat lo schif de la

sua galera, y bassat primer la má de aquella los dits Governador y Counseller quart, y molts altres Cavaliers, Ciudadans, y Prohombres de Ciutat, Sa Magestat, se embarcà; y fonch dissapte a huynt del mes de Octubre, y partirense totes les galeres sequint Sa Magestat, y anaren al Port del Conte, y apres en lo fer del die Dimengie ab molt bonissim temps feren llur via per a la Ciutat de Mayorque, ahont tota la armada se habia de juntar, segons Sa Magestat digué, ye de allí havien de partir per Alger. Nostre Señor Deu lidone victoria heraque reduesca los Principis Pagans al gremi de la Santa Mare Iglesia. Amen.

A la qual Cesarea Magestat los dits magnífichs Consellers per part de la Ciutat per refresch de la Sua Casa, y Cort feren present de moltes Vagues, de moltons, de moltes gallines y capons, y de molts rahers de pà blanch, fet a cocorrays, de moltes botes de by vermell, y de malvasia; de moltes dozenas de antorches, y velas de cera groga, y de moltes fruites, y ortalles, y altres refreschs, de que Sa Magestat ne restà molt contenta; no obstant, que hy haguè poch interval de temps, que sols foren trenta horas, talment, que la Ciutat no puguè fer lo que aguera vulgut ab mes compliment; ultra que tots los Cortesans en general, y em particular sen senanats molt contents, tant de lo aparell de les posades, per que tots foren molt ben aposentats per cases com encara per lo compliment de las victualles, y recapte havian trobàt en Ciutat ab molt amor, y cortesià.

Y Sa Magestat manà al dit Conseller quart, que tenia carresh de dit refresch, que lo dispensas en la sua Casa y Cort a Orde de Francisco Duarte Proviser General de Sa Magestat.

Com de fet dit Conseller effectua, y compli segons consta de les poliçes que aquell li feya com de las quals



se inferex o thenor della, y les altres per prolixitat se dexian de insertar, qual es del thenor siguent.

“Muy Magnifico Señor Juan Galeasso, Jurado de la Ciudad del Alguer;—mande Vuestra merced que se consigne para la galera Capitana, en que viene Sa Magestat, seis vacas, y veynte carneros, y quatro botas de vino blanco, y dos de tinto, y cinquenta aves, y seys sacos de pan fresco para provision de los gentiles hombres y criados de Sa Magestat, que van en ella; de mas de lo que por otra parte se da á la propria Galera, y que sea del scogido. Hecho en Alguer a viii de Octubre, MDXXXI. Assi mismo se den por esta galera tres cestas de uvas y una de narranjas. Al servicio de Vuestra merced, Francisco Duarte.”

Y ultra lo sobradit tots los Grans y altres no dexaren de comprar moltones y vagues, vins, pâ, y altres victualles per haverni ab abundancia; y mes sequejaren y donaren a butz y a fil de spada per a dos centes vaques del dit noble Governador de Mossen Galzeran Ferret, de Mossen Barthomeu Castanquer, y de altres Senórs de bestian de Ciutat; de que Sa Magestat prenqué plaer, y maná al dit Francisco Duarte les pagàs dient; “Paguense, paguense, no se reciba tanto daño.” Y axo manà Sa Magestat motu proprio, sens que ningui tal li supplicàs, per que la Ciutat entenea tot pagarse, com de fet ha pagat, y pagará, y fera la contenta a tot home.

El perque es rahò que de tant gloriosa vinguda, y vista de Sa Magestat sen fossi expressa memoria en los registres de la casa dell Consell de Aquella peraguè los que vendran la veyan, de manament de dit Noble Govenador, y magnífichs Veguer, y Consellers, se fa la present, y a recordex en lo archiude dita Ciutat, y axo per haver la mayor part de la cosa passada per Ell,

y altra referida, y publicament vista per tot Ciutat. Vuy die disapte a huyt de Octubre, Mil sinch sento quaranta hu.

• Y apres de la partida de Sa Magestat los dits magnífichs Consellers per mes memoria y honra de la Ciutat y dels que vendran en aquella, manaren affigger, y sculpir les armes de la dita Magestat Cesarea, y sota delles les de la Ciutat, y del dit Noble Governador, y a sots de totes hun retolo, o epigrama manifestant dita ven-guda tant gloriosa, lo die, mes y aña, y los que gouvernaven la Ciutat en lo modo y forma que siguex.

Carolus Quintus, Divina favente clementiâ, Imperator Romanorum, semper Augustus, Hispaniarum, Aragonum, Sardinæ Rex, septima die Octobris anni 1541, cum quadraginta tribus triremibus ad portum hujus Civitatis Algerii feliciter pervenit, et in eâ duabus diebus permansit.

Nobili Don Didaco Dessena præsens Caput Lugudori, Gubernante, Magnificis Petro Castilla Domicello, Angelo Torralba, Augustino Pont, et Joanne Galeasso militi Consiliariis existentibus, ac Augustino Torralba, Proclavario; in cujus rei memoriam hoc epigramma scriptum est.

Account of the arrival of His Sacred Royal Majesty the Emperor of Austria, Charles V. of glorious memory, in the City of Alghero, on the 6th of October, 1541.

In the name of Him by whom all things are governed, and of the Holy Virgin Mary of Montferrat;—  
Amen.

Having received information that the most unconquerable and Catholic Don Carlos, by the grace of God

Emperor of the Romans, ever august, our Lord and Master, would pass at noon-day from Italy to Barbary in an expedition to Algiers,—after having arrived from Flanders and concluding the affairs of the Lutherans and an interview with his Holiness in Lucca,—and that he had left Spezia on the coast of Genoa with a large army; then our Lord God was obeyed in as much as that on the 2nd October, 1541, forty-three ships which had been separated from the other squadron by stress of weather, arrived at the port of Bonifaccio, in the kingdom of Corsica, and which, as before mentioned, had left Spezia.

From the port of Bonifaccio, His Majesty wrote to the Magnificent Counsellors during the present year of the city of Alghero a letter, signed with his own hand, announcing his arrival in the said port of Bonifaccio; and as he intended to come into the said city of Alghero, this letter was transmitted to the aforesaid Magnificent Counsellors by the Noble Don Diego Dessena, Governor and Reformador of the province of Lagudoro and Sassari, through the means of the Constable Joan de Corra, on Wednesday the 3rd day of October, at four o'clock in the afternoon, of which letter the following is the tenor:—

“To our beloved and faithful sworn Counsellors in our city of Alghero,—the King,—

“Beloved and faithful subjects!—We are at this hour arrived at the port of Bonifaccio, and we think with the help of our Lord to be soon in the city of Alghero. And because since our departure from Spezia we are not aware of what voyage our ships which started previously have made; and as we are desirous of knowing about them, we charge and command you that immediately on receiving this you will inform yourselves what

ships have anchored in your port, those of our fleet as well as any other ships ; and if they went away, where they went to, and whatever you can ascertain about them. And you will give orders that provisions shall not be wanting in your city which may be required for the refreshment and supply of our establishment and court, using all that diligence for which we confide in you.

“ Given at the port of Bonifaccio, the 3rd day of October, in the year 1541. Signed,—I, the KING.

“ PRAGUES, Secretary.”

The aforesaid magnificent counsellors having received the said letter with the honor and reverence due to it, immediately gave the requisite orders ; and on the same day, Wednesday, the noble governor arrived in the city, and with the magnificent bailiff, Messire Miguel Olives the younger, and the counsellors had a long and wide bridge for embarkation made on the sea. And they had a great deal of white bread made for his Majesty, and arranged that ashore at the doors of the houses, at the shops and booths, there should be an abundance of bread, and that they should bring outside the doors fowls, capons, hens, eggs, ducks, doves, pigeons, cheeses, fruits, and other refreshments, in order that the people might be able to purchase without going in search of them. They prohibited the people also, under pain of imprisonment, from asking more than the accustomed prices:

They arranged many taverns for white and dark wines ; that the cows and sheep should be brought inside the city ; that there should be plenty of slaughter-houses ; that the fishermen from the lakes and other places should bring all their fish and expose it for sale

in open places, so that his Majesty and Court might have some refreshment in this his poor city, and perceive the innate fidelity of his subjects who dwell in it.

And likewise the noble bailiff, governor, and magnificent counsellors arranged a wild-boar hunt for his Majesty at Porto Conte. In fact, on the very same night the magnificent Messire Guyare de Cetrilla, Messire Francesh Busquats, Messire Salvador Zetrilla, and Messire Perot Amat, gentlemen of the city, and the magnificent Messire Angel Torralba, second counsellor, and other citizens and principal persons of the town, and servants with a great retinue of horses, dogs, and beaters, and other people, went to Porto Conte.

They waited at Porto Conte for his Majesty to go to the chase for two nights, till two vessels arrived at the said port about midnight on Thursday, the 6th of October; and on the morrow, before daybreak, the said noble governor, accompanied by four gentlemen, who were Don Joan Manca, Don Angel Manca his brother, Don Jayme Manca, and Don Cariga of Sassari, who were in the city on purpose to await the arrival of his Majesty, went in an armed vessel to Porto Conte, and arrived there before his Majesty had got up. But after he had got up they kissed his hand on their own behalf as well as on that of the city, and expressed to him the general joy which was felt by all on the arrival of his Majesty, and the regret of the counsellors that they had so little time to provide an abundance of all that was necessary, and of what was more befitting and becoming.

And his Majesty received him with much pleasure, and said that he was satisfied of the good will of them all. And seeing much people ashore on horseback and on foot, and behind them the huntsmen belonging

to the city, prepared in case his Majesty wished to go to the chase, he was much pleased with it. Then the aforesaid gentlemen, counsellors, and the noble Don Juan Raimon Cetrilla, who had arrived, together with the other huntsmen, went on board the vessel and kissed his Majesty's hand, whom he received with much pleasure. His Majesty then went on shore in a boat, without any guard or other persons, except three or four grand personages of his court; and they were the Duke of Camerino, nephew of Pope Paul III., his relation the Prince of Salmona, Don Luis Davila, the Commendador of Alcantara, the Prince of Macedonia, and the Ambassador of England. His Majesty having joined the said gentlemen and huntsmen, and having heard mass, which was performed at a spot called Tragunaja by one of his chaplains, mounted on horseback, as did also the other grandees of his court. And they hunted, and his Majesty killed a boar which came to him on the spot, driven by a dog of Messire Gueran de Cetrilla, and afterward his Majesty desired the counsellors and gentlemen to go on board his own boat with him.

He arrived by it in the port of this city, on Friday, the 7th of October, about the hour of vespers. And while his Majesty was hunting, the noble governor went to the city and narrated the above circumstances to the bailiff and counsellors and citizens. The vessels did not arrive at the port all together, but now one and then another, so that his Majesty was accompanied but by a few, the said vessels not caring to serve as a guard for his Majesty.

On the Tuesday, four frigates entered the port, not standing on the usual ceremonies. The bridge which the city had had erected for the embarkation of his

Majesty was made of planks, rafters, and beams of great size, and passed from the dry shore over the sea. At the end of it towards the sea were the arms of his Majesty, sumptuously painted by the artist Johanet Spert, a citizen.

The bridge was covered with fine cloth from Barcelona, crimson, yellow, and other colors of great value. And there awaiting his Majesty stood the noble governor and magnificent bailiff, and the counsellors, accompanied by many gentlemen, and the citizens, and the principal people of the city as well as out of it. Among them were Don Bernard Dessena, brother of the noble governor; the Alcalde Saputa of Cagliari, Don Francesco Robolledo, Counsellor in the province of Sassari, Don Johan Manca, and others, whose names for brevity need not be mentioned, all dressed sumptuously.

The magnificent counsellor of the province carried the keys of the city in his hands, with the strings and tassels of fine crimson and yellow silk. And while thus waiting the vessels had arrived, and the people had landed, and, passing through the city, had reached their houses; so that no guard awaited the arrival of his Majesty.

The city, from the first arrival of the vessels till his Majesty reached his palace, continued to fire salutes, under the direction of Mossen Iayme Veldallas; and his Majesty hoisted all his flags and standards on board his own vessel, and saluted the city with four guns from his own vessel. And after this, he embarked in his own little boat, with only the Prince Doria and those who rowed him. But previous to going to the bridge and landing ashore, he went in his little boat with the Prince Doria, to examine the sea side of the city, from St. Elia to the Tower Del Sperone, or

Adabayx, And the noble governor and magnificent bailiff and counsellors, doubting whether his Majesty would enter the city by the Porta Real, left the bridge, and no sooner had they gone away from it, than it was pillaged and cleared of all its cloths, by his Majesty's soldiers and others ; at which his Majesty was much amused, and evidently shewed it.

And after having well examined the city, his Majesty returned in his little boat and landed at the said bridge, and ordered his guards " to go away, for he had no occasion for them as he was at home." They, therefore, kept no order whatever, as is customary in other parts, either in or out of the palace, but went about wherever they pleased.

On the bridge, the governor, bailiff, counsellors, citizens, gentlemen, and principal persons indiscriminately kissed his Majesty's hand. He received them with much affection, and the magnificent counsellors having presented him the keys, as is customary, he accepted them, and then returned them to them, saying in Spanish, " My sworn counsellors ! keep them with good success, since we are content with this. And we further enjoin and request you, that you keep them, and that you look to the welfare of your country, as you are bound to do, and as your fidelity requires."

On this the magnificent counsellors again kissed his hand. And afterwards he walked to the end of the bridge, where on the shore stood the most reverend Bishop of Ampurias, Don Gregorio Artea, who was present in the city, in his pontifical robes, and Don Pedro Vaguer, the Bishop of Alghero, and Counsellor of his Majesty, who had previously entered the city, and had been received by the other prelates according to custom, though he was not in his pontifical robes.



And they were accompanied by the vicars, Messire Francesco Guio, and Duran the high priest of Alghero, by the canons, chaplains, and with crucifixes, according to custom. And the most reverend Bishop of Ampurias held the true cross in his hand, two carpets being prepared, and which belonged to Messire Francesco Busquets, and two cushions of green silk, which the Lady Isabel Amat and Dessena had bequeathed, and the brocaded canopy lined with silk, and the canopy belonging to the cathedral. His Majesty then knelt on the said cushions, and kissed the true cross, which was in the hands of the Bishop of Ampurias; and afterwards he mounted on a chesnut horse, highly caparisoned, which was prepared and belonged to the noble Don Johan Manca. And his Majesty, standing under the canopy, said to the Bishop of Alghero, "Bishop, pass under here;" and he went with those who carried the canopy. And thus with solemnity and procession his Majesty entered the city of Alghero on the afore-mentioned day, Friday, the 7th day of the said month of October, 1541, about the hour of vespers; the canopy being carried by the magnificent Messire Perot Cartilla Donzell, chief counsellor, Messire Angell Torralba, second counsellor, and Messire Johan Galeasso, fourth counsellor, and the noble Don Pedro de Ferrera, Don Johan Manca, and the magnificent Messire Cetrilla. Having entered the city, he went to the cathedral of the said city, for prayers; and having had them, he got on horseback and arrived at the mansion of the noble Don Pedro de Ferrera, in the Piazza, which was prepared for him. And his Majesty desired that they should no longer carry the canopy, because he wished to go, before he dismounted, to see the rest of the city on the land side, having already

visited it on the sea side. So his Majesty went, followed by the noble governor, the magnificent bailiff and counsellors, and the gentlemen who carried the canopy, Don Bernard Dessena, Messire Francesco de Busquets, and other gentlemen and citizens of the city. In passing out of the city, by the Porta Real, his Majesty said to the counsellors, "My sworn counsellors! is this the church which you dismantled, when the French came?" And the said counsellors answered that it was; and having arrived at the tower Del Sperone, which appeared to him to be a beautiful building, he went to a spot full of stones, and where there was a hole in the rock, from whence there was a view of the whole city. And when there and looking on the city, and the Tower del Sperone, he exclaimed, "By my troth it is beautiful and admirably situated." Then, turning to the governor and counsellors, he said, "This is of little importance, raise the parapet of the wall and the town to the height of those two men, and finish the work" — speaking in reference to two men who were standing at top of the old wall of the tower Del Sperone. His Majesty when returning to the city, and being between the tower Del Sperone and the tower of the Porta Reale, opposite St. Michael's, said, "My sworn counsellors! it would be well to put up a casemate here, as all the rest is good." And continuing onwards, and being between the new and old gate, his Majesty stopped, while on horseback, to look at his arms, which were painted there; and the counsellors told him, that in similar buildings they spent the money of the city, which his Majesty had favored it with; he replied to them, "I see it well, and am pleased with it."

Having entered the city, he stopped at the mansion

of the said Don Pedro, and dismounted and went up into his apartment, where the Prince Doria and other grandees awaited him ; and His Majesty conversed a little on foot with the said Prince Doria on the subject of the fleet, of which, by a letter received, the governor was informed as to where it had moored. His Majesty then went into his chamber, and the rest of the people went to their houses.

And having entered his chamber, His Majesty sat down at the window with the Prince of Macedonia, the Prince of Salmona, the Duke of Camerino, the nephew of the Pope, and relation of His Majesty, and Don Luis Davilla, chief comendador of Alcantara, all of whom were laughing with him as they looked down on the Piazza, and saw the cows and oxen which the soldiers were embarking scampering about the place, and how they killed them with their knives.

When it was almost night, the said magnificent counsellors accompanied as abovementioned, went to the palace and verbally supplicated His Majesty that he should deign to remember this city, since our Lord God had bestowed the favor on us of his Majesty's arrival and sojourn at a mass of rock far from any population, and in continual war with enemies ; and that they only had the title of most faithful vassals of his Majesty. And his Majesty answered and said : " My sworn counsellors, the desire we had to see Alghero made us come to Sardinia, which we should not otherwise have done, and we have seen the city and its importance. At present we are not able to benefit it, as we are on our journey ; but send to remind us in Spain that there we may benefit you with our best service, and as the importance of the city requires, and as your fidelity deserves ; and it may be, that before long you

may see us here again, if it should so please God." On this the said counsellors kissed his Majesty's hand, thanked him for his good will and the love he shewed them, and then went away.

Although preparation was made for supper in the palace, yet his Majesty did not sup, except that at night he eat some crusts of white biscuits, and drank some water flavored with cinnamon, on account of his suffering from a pain in the chest. And before going to bed his Majesty said to the fourth counsellor, who had been and still was present with him, "My sworn counsellor, you may all go away ;—we have no occasion for any thing, since we are now in our own house." On this, one of his Majesty's halbadiers, named Rodrigo, answered and said : "Sire, these sworn counsellors have not provided us with matrasses ; it would be well if we may pull down these cloths, and wrap ourselves in them."

And his Majesty laughed and said to the abovementioned fourth counsellor, "My sworn counsellor, take care that these simpletons do no harm ;" and the counsellor answered, "They will not, sire." Then every one went away, and his Majesty went to his bed which the city had prepared ; and the said halbadier did not say so because there was a want of beds, for every one was well provided ; and also with the presents which the city had made not only to the halbadiers, but also to the laquies, guardians of the robes, bakers, porters, purveyors, and cook, which the said fourth counsellor on the part of the city had made to them, amounting altogether to about seventy ducats, according as the quality of their office demanded. And they were presented also with the canopy and the cloths, so that they were well contented with the city. On the morrow

after his Majesty had risen, they prepared for a mass in the saloon of the palace ; where his Majesty and many princes, dukes, marquises, counts, prelates, and grand personages of his court, with the noble governor and magnificent bailiff, counsellors, gentlemen, citizens and others of Alghero attended the mass, which was said by one of the chaplains of his Majesty.

When it was dinner-time every one went to their own habitations, and his Majesty retired to his chamber, where he dined without that ceremony and preparation due to his Majesty ; and secluded himself in his chamber, suffering from the pain in his chest, as it was said.

After a little while his Majesty ordered a general proclamation that every one should embark ; and about two o'clock his Majesty gave orders for starting. And he proceeded from his private chamber to the saloon to embark in the presence of the abovementioned princes, dukes, counts, prelates, and illustrious personages of his court, of the said noble governor Don Diego Des-sena, and of many other gentlemen and citizens of the city. And his Majesty created knights the magnificent Messire Johan Galeasso, the previously mentioned fourth counsellor, the Messire Duran Guio of Alghero, the Messire Pedro Pilo, the Messire Cano, the Messire Virde, of the city of Sassari, and the Messire Iolian Delgraxo de Cartell, of Aragon. And the secretary of his Majesty, Messire Johan Prialonga, received a commission in the militia, and in the Chancelry. And in descending the stairs of the said palace the said fourth counsellor, who had been knighted, as abovementioned, asked permission of his Majesty to serve him in his expedition to Algiers. And his Majesty answered, " My sworn counsellor, you have your employment

for the present, and thus we wish it to be." And when his Majesty was going out of the door of the palace, the noble Don Pedro de Ferrera stopped and beseeched his Majesty that he would look favorably on and accept the services in his court of his brother Don Miguel de Ferrera, who was present, but who was unable on account of ill health to accompany and serve his Majesty in his expedition. And his Majesty accepted him. And his Majesty turned to the fourth counsellor, who represented the city, and walked on his left hand, because the rest of his companions were absent, being engaged in waiting on their guests and illustrious personages in their houses; and from the door of the palace to the sea gate his Majesty conversed and spoke, of the position and state of the city; and the said counsellor gave him a full account of all.

And having arrived at the said sea gate, his Majesty ordered the bridge to be cleared of the people who were on it, and then ascended it. And the small boat of his vessel being all ready, his Majesty, after the said governor, fourth counsellor, and many other gentlemen and citizens, and principal people of the city, had kissed his hand, embarked. This occurred on Saturday, the 8th day of the month of October; and all the vessels departed and followed his Majesty, and went to *Porte Conte*. And at daybreak on Sunday morning, with most propitious weather, they were on their way to the city of Majorca, where all the fleet was to meet, according to his Majesty's orders. From thence they were to start for Algiers. May our Lord God give him the victory, so that he may bring back the Pagan princes to the bosom of the Holy Mother Church. Amen.

To his august Majesty, the said magnificent coun-

sellors, on the part of the city for the refreshment of his establishment and court, made presents of many cows and sheep, and many hens and capons, and many razieri of white bread made in cocorrays, and many casks of red wine and malvagia and many dozens of torches and yellow wax candles, and much fruit and vegetables, and other provisions, with which his Majesty was much pleased. And this, too, notwithstanding the very short interval of time, as it was only thirty hours ; so that the city was not able to pay those compliments which it wished. Moreover, all the courtiers generally, as well as individuals, went away highly satisfied, not only with the arrangement for their lodging, —for all of them were well provided for in houses,— but also with the abundance of the provisions and things which they received in the city with every mark of affection and courtesy.

And his Majesty ordered the said fourth counsellor to look after the said provisions, and that they should be dispensed in his own private establishment at the orders of Francisco Duarte the purveyor of his Majesty.

This, the said counsellor effected and accomplished, as appears from one of the documents which he made, as well as from the tenor of others, which, to avoid prolixity, are not inserted. But one is as follows :—

“ Very Magnificent Señor Juan Galeasso, sworn counsellor of the city of Alghero ; may it please your Excellence to consign on board the chief vessel where his Majesty is, six cows, and twenty sheep, and four casks of white wine, and two of red, and fifty fowls, and six bags of fresh bread, for provisions for the gentlemen and attendants on his Majesty, who are on board his vessel, over and above that which is, on the

other hand, provided for the vessel ; and, moreover, that it be choice. Signed at Alghero, on the 8th day of October, 1544. And also that they provide for this vessel three chests of grapes, and one of oranges. At the service of your Excellence—Francisco Duarte.”

And besides all the above, the principal personages and others did not omit to buy sheep and cows, wines, bread, and other provisions, so as to have an abundance of them ; and they moreover stole them, and stuck with their knives and swords more than two hundred cows belonging to the noble governor, and Messire Galzeran Ferret, and Messire Barthomeu Castenguer, and other gentlemen, proprietors of the cattle belonging to the city. And his Majesty was very much amused at this, and ordered the said Francisco Duarte to pay for them : “ Pay for them, pay for them,—let them not suffer such a loss.” This his Majesty commanded at his own will and instigation, without any one supplicating him to do so, for the city intended to pay for all, which, in fact, it has paid, and will pay, and will make every one content.

And, since it is right that of so glorious an arrival and visit of his Majesty, there should be some express memorial in the archives in the council house of the city, so that those who come here may see it ; at the command of the said noble governor and magnificent bailiff, and of the counsellors, this present document is made, and is a record in the archives of the said city, especially as the greater part of the events which occurred, and are narrated, took place in it, and were publicly witnessed by the whole city. Dated Saturday, the 8th October, 1541.

And after the departure of his Majesty, the said magnificent counsellors, for the better memorial and



honor of the city, and for those who may come here, ordered the arms of his august Majesty to be sculptured and put up, and under them those of the city and of the said noble governor; and, under them all, an inscription or epigram recording the above-mentioned glorious arrival of his Majesty, as well as the day, month, and year, and those who governed the city, in the mode and form as follows:—

“Charles V., by divine grace, Emperor of the Romans, ever august, King of Spain, Aragon, and Sardinia, prosperously arrived at the port of this city of Alghero with forty-three ships of war, on the 7th day of October, 1541, and remained in it for two days. The Noble Don Didaco Dèssena, governor of the present province of Logudoro, the illustrious Peter Castella Domicellò, Angelo Torralba, Augustin Pont, and John Galeasso, being the present military counselors, and Augustin Torralba, deputy chamberlain. In remembrance of which this inscription is written.”

Here follow various attestations to the authenticity of the document, by eye-witnesses of the circumstances narrated in it; but which need not be inserted.

## APPENDIX.

### No. IV.

Instructions to the Ambassadors from the Duke of Anjou to Ugone, Giudice of Arborea.

#### ROTULUS CREDENTIE IN GALLICO.

Mémoires des choses qui ont à dire et à faire Messire Mignon de la Pommerede Chambellan et Messire Guillaume Guayen Conseiller de Mons. le Duc d'Anjou, sur la messagerie à eulx enchargée devers le Seigneur Juge d'Arborée.

Premièrement le salueront bien et affectueusement de par Mons. le Duc d'Anjou et ma Dame la Duchesse, si comme il est accoustumé.

Item lui diront comment mon dit Seigneur désire oyer et savoir tous jours bonnes nouvelles de son bon estat et santé et de ma Dame sa fille, et par especial après que l'aliance et armistié fut faicte entre le dit Mons. le Duc et le dit Seigneur Juge encontre le Roy d'Aragon et que souvent en veille certifier le dit Mons. le Duc pour son grant plaisir et joye.

Item lui diront le bon estat et santé de Mons. le Duc de Madame la Duchesse et de Mons. Loys leur fils, la prosperité de leur besongues par especial sur la conquete de Guyenne et les autres nouvelles de par deca.

Item lui diront comment après ce que Mess. Guillaume Mauvinet et Mess. Pierre Gilbert messages en-

voyez de par mon dit Seigneur le Duc au dit Seigneur Juge furent retournes devers Mons. et lui eurent faicte relation des choses qu'ils avaient accordé sur les dites aliances et amistiez, mon dit Seigneur pour amour et honnor du dit Seigneur Juge combien qu'il y eust articles bien chargeans Mons. le ratifia et approuva et dedans le terme que les dis messages aurient accordé, si comme plus à plain ils lui puent monstrer et lui remercie de la bonne chère et benign tractement, graces et dons qu'il leur fit, dont Mons. le mercie tant comme il peut.

Item lui diront comme les dis Mess. Guillaume et Mess. Pierre Gilbert dirent et rapportèrent à Mons. que le dit Seigneur Juge leur avoit dit qu'il enverroient devers mon dit Seigneur de ses gens pour causes des dites aliances et amistiez et ausi aucun marchans Genevois l'avoient à mon dit Seigneur affirmé, dont il est emmerveille de ce qu'il ne les a vus, ne scet la cause pourquoi ils son demourez.

Item lui diront que Mons. a différé si longuement à renvoyer devers lui ses messagers pour les raisons qui s'ensuivent. Premièrement pour ce que tous jours il attendait les messagers du dit Seigneur Juge si comme en l'article devant et contenu.

Secondement de ce que l'en tractoit à Bruges de la Paix des Roys de France et d'Angleterre dont Mons. vouloit bien savoir la fin pour l'avancement des besongues communes du dit Seigneur Duc et du Seigneur Juge, et n'aguère que les tracteurs se sont partis sans faire aucun exploit. Tiercement pour ce que le Roy de Castelle avoit prié Mons. de fair acort par sa main de mon dit Seigneur et du Roy d'Arragon sur les demandes que Mons. leur fait. Et combien que Mons. n'eust oncques entente ne ait de faire paix nee acort

avec lui sans le bon plaisir et assentement du dit Juge, si comme faire ne le doit par vertu des aliances et armistiez fait entre eulx toute fois il y a volu entendre pour savoir l'intention du dit Roy d'Arragon et que le dit Roy de Castelle et l'enfant son fils aîné fussent plus plenement enfournez de son bon droit, si comme ils sont à present par les messagers que Mons. y'avoit envoyiez et tellement qu'ils le reputent tout cler. Et plus que jamais les dis Roys de Castelle et enfant se sont enforciez de corps et de biens sans riens y espargner a mon dit Seigneur au dit fait, et ainsi a fait le Roy de Portugal qui semblament en esté enfourmez et depuis dix mois en ça c'est aliez avec mon dit Seigneur. Et pour en certifier le dit Seigneur Juge de tout ce qui a esté fait Mons. a différé de envoyer plus tost devers lui les messagers.

Item a estre cause pourquoi Mons. n'a envoyé plus tost devers le dit Seigneur Juge, car après que les dis messagers premiers furent retornez, Dieu par sa grace a donné à Mons. un très bian fils de Madame la Duchesse, lequel nasqui le septiesme jour d'Octobre l'an 1377 et a nom Loys. Et pour ce que Mons. imagina après la nativité du dit Mons. Loys et pour plus affermer et croistre les amistiez et aliances devers lui et le dit Seigneur Juge par voi de mariage à faire entre le dit Mons. Loys et la fille du dit Seigneur Juge et au commencement l'en ne peut cognoistre de la vie des enfans jusque à tant qu'ils sorient acunement enforciez. Et à present par la grace de Dieu le dit Loys ait passé l'yuer, et grant partie de l'esté et soit tres noblement, et bien proportionnez de corps et des ses membres et fizonomies en toutes choses, et selon le conseil et advis des fiziciens et regart de toutes gens taillez et ordonnez par la grace de Dieu à vivre, le dit Mons. le Duc ne

veult plus attendre que de ces choses certifier le dit Seigneur Juge ; et pour ce qu'il dit à ses premiers messagers en aucunes paroles quant l'en lui parloit de mariage pour lui et pour sa fille, se Mons. avoit point d'enfans, et en après parlant d'autres choses et de l'amistié et aliance qu'il fesoit avec Mons. leur dit que qui lui voudroit estre vray bon et feal ami auroit lui sa fille et ce qu'il avoit, et Mons. à tous ceulx à qui il est ami et aliez le veuille estre parfaitement et loyamment et par especial à lui, a en propose et volente de faire mariage de Mons. Loys son dit fils avec la fille du dit Seigneur Juge, parmi bonnes justes et raisonnables pactions et convenances, auxquelles tractier et faire et accomplir et enteriner parfaitement, a ordenez ces dis presens messagers et leur a donné pouvoir de faire toutes les choses qu'il pourrait faire se il y estoit present.

Item que si le dit mariage plait au dit Seigneur Juge, mon dit Seigneur en aura plaisir plus que d'autres à qui il se peust adjouster ne conféderer ; car combien que le Roy d'Arragon lui ait fait parler et tractier qu'il vouldist faire mariage de Mons. Loys son fils avec la fille du Duc de Geronne et lui en ait fait faire grans offres tant en prouffis de terres comme d'argent, et la vouloient faire jurer Reyne après la mort du Duc de Geronne, s'il n'avoit enfant masle de quoi l'en n'a pas espérance et en ce cas le dit Mons. Loys est Roy d'Arragon. Neantmoins Mons. ne y a voulu entendre ne fera aucun acort avec lui, si comme il ne doit par vertu des dites aliances ne aussi à plusieurs autres mariages dont l'en lui a parlé comme de la fille de Portugal, du Roy de Hongrie, de la fille du Duc Aubert Duc de Bavayre, et de plusieurs autres, pour quelles parolles ne quelque prouffit que l'on lui en ait

offert jusques à ce qu'il sceust la volente et entention du dit Seigneur Juge s'il voudrait entendre au dit mariage ; et surce lui dient de par Mons. que pleinement et liberalment veulle aler avant en ceste besongue. S'il y veult entendre et en bonne foy car ainsi le entent Mons. et non autrement.

Item diront au dit Seigneur Juge comment Mons. n'a pue commencer sa guerre contre le Roi d'Arragon, car le Roy son frere lui avoit moult prié qu'il ne la vouldit commancer jusques à ce que sa guerre et celle du Roy d'Angleterre fust à fin, ou par tractie de Paix ou de trèves, on fust plus avant procédé encor sà la conquete et le convenu entendre au dit tracte de la Paix ; et pour icellui en a esté en France, après ce que ses premiers messagers furent retournez, et aussi pour la très noble et grant conquete qu'il fist l'année passée en Guyenne, la plus belle que jamais y fut faite en une saison, tant en discomfiture de gens d'armes et prises de grans prisonniers comme de Princes, de bonnes villes et grosses fortresses et chastiaux par quoy il a esté très grandement occupez et aussi par le tractie dont dessus est faite mention que le Roy de Castelle vouloit faire entre lui et le Roy d'Arragon, mais l'entention de Mons. est de commancer sa guerre sans plus délayer l'année que l'en comptera quatre vingts et entre deux pense estre pourvus de ce que besoing lui fera, et que la guerre de France aura en aucun appointment, et aussi le fait du Roy de Navarre aura prinse aucun conclusion, lequel Roy plusieurs conspirations et mauvaistiez avait fait tracté et procuré contre le Roy et son Royaume, pourquoi lui ont esté prinse toutes les terres qu'il avoit en France par le Roy après la révélation des dites mauvaistiez et traysons que miraculeusement a esté faite au Roy et à Mons. Et celles de Langedoc

ont esté prinses par Mons. la grace de Nostre Seigneur du tout. Toutfoi ce au dit Seigneur Juge sembloient expedient que Mons. la duest commencer l'année qu'il vient que l'on dira soisant dix neuf par son conseil et advis et bon ayde Mons. la voudroit faire. Et sur ce sachent les dis messagés pleinement son entention, et volonté et l'ayde que faire voudra à Mons. outre ce qui est contenue en les dites aliances de quoi Mons. a bien fiancé pour ce qu'il en dit à ses premiers messagers de bouche, et l'en prient bien et effectueusement et en facent tout leur pouvoir.

Item comment Mons. a entendu que le dit Seigneur Juge est en tractie de faire paix avec le dit Roy d'Arragon, et lui dient prient et requierent par vertu des aliances faites entre Mons. et luy, qu'il ne vuelle faire paix ne acort avec le dit Roy d'Arragon sans express consentment et volenté du dit Mons., car aussi ne la volu faire ne veult Mons., combien que par plusieurs en ait esté prié et requis, comme par le Pape Gregorie que Dieu absoille, le Cardinal de Therouenne, le Roy de Castelle et le Conte d'Armaignac et autres.

Item lui bailleront la confirmation des dites aliances et le feront de nouvelles se. besoing est, par la manière que Mons. leur a enchargié de bouche.

RESPONSIO FACTA PER DOMINUM JUDICEM ARBOREE.

Translatum seu copia responsionis facte par magnificum et excelsum Dominum Dominum Hugonem, Dei gratia Judicem Arboree, Comitem Goceani et Vicecomitem de Basso, Ambaxatoribus Domini Ducis Andegaviensis de verbo ad verbum exemplatum a Cancellaria dicti Domini Judicis, in qua dicta responsio registrata exstitit ad memoriam futurorum.

In primis, respondet dictus Dominus Judex, quod

instrumentum pactorum et conventionum quod fecerunt, juraverunt, et firmaverunt, coram populo in ecclesia Sancte Marie civitatis Arestanni ambaxatores primi dicti Domini Ducis cum eodem Domino Judice, ostendatur eisdem secundis ambaxatoribus, ad hoc ut errorem dicti Domini eorum cognoscant, et videant penas contentas in dicto instrumento et dampna et interesse que propter ea subsequuta sunt eidem Domino Judici et suis gentibus, propter pacta et falsas promissiones que et quare eidem Domino fecerunt, veniendo contra fidem promissam et proprium juramentum; que dampna interesse et penam dictus Dominus Judex petere et recuperare intendit, et de hiis sibi integraliter satisfieri suis loco et tempore oportunis.

Ad factum confirmationis quam petit dictus Dominus Dux propter vanas et frivolas excusationes quas facit, que nec sunt vere nec verisimiles prout ab omnibus notum est, respondit dictus Dominus Judex quod dicte excusationes nec sibi nec gentibus suis fuerunt utiles nec profecte, nam sibi non observavit nec attendit prout sibi promisit et juravit, ymo sub bona fide expectando suas frivolas promissiones qui nunquam habuerunt effectum, distulit; guerram suam quam viriliter processisset prout sic expectando non processit, ymo multas expensas inutiles et infructuosas fecit dictus Dominus Judex, cogitans quod sibi attenderet promissa et jurata dictus Dominus Dux, prout in dicto instrumento publice promiserat.

Ad factum matrimonii respondet dictus Dominus Judex, quod est ridiculosum, et propterea illud facere non intendit, nam ejus filia est jam ad annos nubiles deducta, et filius dicti Domini Ducis est anniculus, et propterea dictum matrimonium non bene sortiretur effectum, cum intentio dicti Domini Judicis sit dictam



filiam suam, Domino concedente, in vita sua nubere et consolari et non expectare futuros ventos. Ex quibus omnibus consideratis dictus Dominus Judex respondet quod habet guerram de facto, et non in verbis cum Cathalanis publicis inimicis suis, et jam per spatium quatuordecim annorum et ultra, dictam guerram sine adjutorio alicujus persone de mundo fecit, nisi mediante auxilio Dei et gloriosa Virginis Marie matris suae, ac Sardice gentis et pecunie sue; et sic favente divina clementia, intendit dictam guerram ad finem peroptatum deducere, nec intendit ligas nec confederationes cum aliquo homine mundi amplius facere, nam bene sufficientem se sentit ad faciendum guerram vivam cum Rege Aragonum, etiam si forent duo similes sibi, eos expectare intendit viriliter in campo, sine adjutorio alicujus persone, ut superdictum est.

Ad factum pacis quam dicit dictus Dominus Dux sibi requisitam fore, respondet dictus Dominus Judex, quod usque nunc ipse Dominus Dux non habuit guerram nisi de verbis vanis et frivolis, que sibi redundaverunt et redundant ad modicum honorem, nihilominus sive pacem sive guerram habeat dictus Dominus Dux, cum Rege Aragonum, modicum curat idem Dominus Judex, sicut non curavit hoc usque, nam ipse intendit adeo potens esse in guerrigando cum dicto Rege Aragonum, quod non solum sibi solo sed etiam duobus similibus sibi in campo resistere intendit, et de eo victoriam consequi cum honore, sicut jam alias obtinuit. Ea propter unusquisque faciat factum suum, eo quia dictus Dominus Judex intendit sua facta facere, sine adjutorio vel lingua alicujus persone; emendando propterea dictus Dominus Dux eidem Domino Judici omnia dampna et interesse, que habuit et sustinuit propter falsas promissiones et juramentum, que sibi fecerunt,

non observando sibi promissa, que dampna et interesse dictus Dominus Judex petere et recuperare intendit suis loco et tempore, ut superius dictum est; et similiter petere penam contentam in dicto instrumento alligationis quam dictus Dominus Dux incidit ultra et præter dampna guerre quam fecisset et non facit, propter promissiones et falsa juramenta que sibi fecerunt et non attenderunt eidem. Et propterea dictus Dominus Judex non intendit amplius aliquod facere cum dicto Domino Duce, cum qui semel malus semper presumitur esse malus; et sic dictus Dominus Dux faceret optime contentare et satisfacere eidem Domino Judici de dampnis et interesse per eum sustentis occasione premissa, et etiam de pena contenta in dicto instrumento alligationis, infra quatuor menses proxime venturos. Quod si non fecerit, dictus Dominus Judex intendit suas querimonias proponere de eo coram omnibus Principibus mundi, et postmodum de predictis se adjuvare juxta posse ad hoc, ut ipsi sciant clare falsas promissiones et juramenta que eidem Domino Judici fuerunt facta, et postmodum non observata sibi; et dictus Dominus Judex sit excusatus Deo et mundo quando executio fiet de predictis. Et hec est responsio dicti Domini Judicis.

SUPERSCRIPTIO LETTERE DICTE JUDICIS.

Illustri Principi Domino Ludovico Regis quondam Francorum filio, Duci Andegaviensi et Turonensi comitique Cenomanensi, Judex Arboree.

CONTENTIA DICTE LETTERE.

Ad nostram accesserunt presentiam vestri Ambaxiatares nuperrime per vos transmissi et intellectis ad plenum capitulis per nos, et vanis et frivolis excusationibus

vestris, nec non hiis omnibus que pro parte vestra nobis reserari voluerunt, eisdem respondimus prout clare in quodam scripto quod eisdem dedimus et ad cautelam registrari in nostra cancellaria fecimus videre potentis.

Datum in Civitate nostra Arrestanni die ultimo mensis Augusto anno Dominice incarnationis millesimo tricentesimo septuagesimo nono sub sigillo nostro segreto.

THE END.



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